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Time and Tide : A Study of the Conflicting Concepts of Time of the Dakota Indian and Western Civilization

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TIME AND TIDE: A STUDY OF THE CONFLICTING CONCEPTS OF TIME OF THE DAKOTA INDIAN AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Time and tide wait for no man. The Indian peoples of the Americas, as well as non-literate peoples around the world, have been swept or are being swept from their cultural moorings by their contacts with 'white' civilization. These cultures, whose values center around permanence and patience, have been engulfed in an expanding social order which exalts change. Impelled by its time oriented concepts of progress, opportunity, profit, speed, and efficiency, civilization's contacts with familisational[1] cultures have been uprooting, breaking and crushing. Its course has been irresistable and as MacIver contends, as irreversible as time itself.

The Dakota Indians have experienced the full impact of Western civilization within the course of the past century. A few, as individuals, have been able to rise above it. Only they can describe the experience in an objective manner for a person of Western culture. In the words of Ella Deloria:

> Not till there was outside pressure did Dakota culture undergo a change. It came, and without their asking for it—a totally different way of life, far reaching in its influence, awful in its power, insistent in its demands. It came like a flood that nothing could stay. All in a day, it seemed, it had roiled the peacefulness of the Dakotas' lives, confused their minds, and given them one choice -- to conform to it or else. ....Suddenly it struck.

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[1] A social order based on the extended family and respect relationships in contrast to the state regulated order of civilization.

> It struck hard — in the mass slaughter of the buffalo, in the Custer fight, in the killing of Sitting Bull, and, finally in that ghastly incident at Wounded Knee, in 1890, when innocent men, women, and children were massacred. Those were the decisive blows, the death dealing shafts hurled into Teton-Dakota life, the final reasons for change.[1]

For the mass of the Dakota, however, understanding and happy adjustment were beyond their reach. They would not be able to describe in an objective manner, as has Miss Deloria, the story of Dakota-White culture contacts. None the less, they experienced it in the subjective terms of injustice, disappointment, misunderstanding, grievances, and bewilderment.

Sellin observes that culture conflict can be understood only as a conflict of meanings. Dollard points out, "especially in our culture it (time) is one of the most vigorously felt and imposed basic concepts."[2] Erikson, who has studied the Sioux, generalized that, "Perhaps there are no deeper differences between peoples than their feeling for space and time. This contains all that a nation has learned from its history, and therefore characterizes concepts of reality and ideals of conduct which no nation can afford to have questioned by another without experiencing a threat to its very existence."[3] Therefore, it is suggested that culturally defined time concepts may be a fruitful avenue for probing the

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[1] Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians, pp. 76, 77, 79.

[2] J. Dollard, Criteria for the Life History, p. 103. Quoted in Otto Klineberg, Social Psychology, p. 216.

[3] Erik Homburger Erikson, "Observations on Sioux Education," The Journal of Psychology, VII (January 1939), p. 104.

cultural and socio-psychological problems arising from the contacts of the Dakota with civilization. The problem of this study shall be to define the Dakota concept of time, to distinguish it from that of Western civilization, and to discover the implications which their differences present to the personality and the culture pattern of the Dakota Indian.

Importance of the Study

There are many situations in which a concept of time has been a matter of importance to the Dakota since contacting civilization's ways. With the passing of the buffalo and the coming of reservation life and later off-reservation life, making a living has been a difficult problem for the Dakota. Whether he attempts to live on government payments, by securing a job or by becoming an independent producer, he is involved in planning for the future and its needs. This calls for a budgeting of time in terms of money and of money in terms of time.

In order to maintain a job, time concepts involving both regularity and punctuality are required. In fact, the Indian finds that if he is to secure even a peripheral position in the complex socio-economic order of white society, he must have a concept of time upon which the coordination of its interdependent activities is based.

Further, the Indian is confronted with and perhaps confused by the negative sanctions of a formal system of social control, in contrast to his own culture, in which a concept of time is involved in terms of prison or jail sentence.

Time is also recognized by sociologists for the potentialities which it has in the study of society, culture, and personality. L. K. Frank expressed this conviction: "Perhaps no area is more in need of exploration for its temporal implications than the field of human conduct and none offers more promise of fruitful reward for imaginative speculation since all human conduct (and probably all organic behavior) are conditioned by the time perspectives of the individual and his culture."[1]

Limitation and Nature of the Study

The essentially subjective nature of time may seem to render it either difficult of use or unusable for the objective requirement of a scientific study. However, human culture with its components of meanings, values, motivations, and attitudes is largely subjective. It is held that a mere statistical observation of behavior does not objectively describe the essence of culture and its problems which lie beneath the surface. This behavior, rather, must be interpreted and understood in the light of the hidden cultural context from which it springs. The subjective nature of time and the possibility of conceptually objectifying it directs us beneath the behavioral surface to explore distinct differences between civilization and a nonliterate culture. Since it is in this more unobserved area that problems of culture conflict arise, the

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[1] L. K. Frank, Society as the Patient, p. 340.

individual of either culture is at a loss to know how to deal with them.

This study is therefore a study in the area of sociological and socio-psychological theory as it pertains to the culture developed by an aboriginal people. The records of early observers of the Dakota and of recent field studies have been utilized to suggest and support the theories developed. These have been supplemented by a few observations of the author which were made on brief visits to the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations.

The fact that the author is not conversant with the language of the Dakota is a distinct limitation. This has partially been overcome by use of Rigg's Dakota-English Dictionary, Williamson's English-Dakota Dictionary, and Buechel's A Grammar of Lakota; also by correspondence with Miss Ella Deloria, a distinguished Dakota scholar and teacher, and with Rev. John F. Bryde, S. J., Superintendent of Holy Rosary Mission.

That the Dakota does not possess Western civilization's concept of time is obvious from his failure to use it as his western observers do. The Dakota does not observe punctuality in appointments, nor value speed in his work. He has little concern for the future. The popular conception then arises that he has no concept of time.

The problem of this study is first to discover if there is a concept of time in the Dakota culture and if so, to define it and distinguish it from that of Western culture. (It is an anthropological generalization that all peoples have a concept of time.)[1]

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[1]Arnold W. Green, Sociology, p. 73.

If it is possible to define the concept of time of each culture, it then becomes the problem to discover why cultures should have different concepts of time; why that of one culture should present difficulties to another culture; why the Dakota should find it difficult to learn the Western concept of time; and why the Dakota concept of time should continue when it involves the Indian in so many difficulties.

If culture theory can be developed to account for these time problems, it should serve to analyze the conditions of culture conflict such as, resistance to change, disorganization, and assimilation. This analysis constitutes the conclusion of this study.

Assumptions and Definitions

Since the field of culture contact is one which involves many prejudices and popular misconceptions, we shall restate some confirmed sociological assumptions from which this study proceeds.

1. All peoples are biologically similar from a functional standpoint.
2. All peoples possess a similar range of intellectual potentialities.
3. "The mental processes of man are the same everywhere, regardless of race and culture, and regardless of the apparent absurdity of beliefs and customs."[1]
4. The main differences between peoples are cultural, i.e. learned.
5. Culture is a human product.

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[1] Franz Boas, "Man Is One; Civilizations are Many," Readings in Sociology, ed. by Wilson D. Wallis and Malcolm M. Willey, p. 32.

Since the term culture is used with various shades of meaning by different schools of sociological and anthropological thought, it is necessary to define this concept as used in this study. Culture is an historically created, group shared and transmitted design for living. It consists of a set or pattern of reality and value definitions which form the basis for common understanding and coherent behavior among a number of individuals, thus producing social order or society. Culture, as used by the author, is more than an aggregate of common practices, techniques, or artifacts. It is rather an order of basic beliefs which motivate or inhibit behavior within a society in such a way that it is mutually understandable to its members. Culture may be defined as a socially produced and inherited pattern of human behavior. However, it must be remembered that behavior can be properly described only in terms of its motivation and its meaning. Thus the greater part of culture, like the iceberg, is submerged beneath the surface, and not observable to the eye.

Civilization, as used in this study, is a kind of cultural order in which the state occupies the ultimate office of social control.

Relation to Sociological Theory

It has been indicated that this study shall be concerned with culture contact as a conflict of meanings, and that differences in time concepts shall be the medium of approach. The question remains, "How does this study fit into the field of sociological theory?"

The area of this inquiry has received considerable attention

within the last generation in the development of the theory of the sociology of knowledge.[1] This theory is based on the principle that the perspective which an individual receives from his group is an important factor in that individual's definition of reality. This study shall deal with one aspect of perspective, the time perspective. In doing so, it will provide a basis for some degree of prediction regarding the social organization of the group and the individual's problem of learning concepts in different and conflicting cultural orders. It is evident then that this study will be related to such well varied areas of sociological investigation as social organization,[2] socialization,[3] acculturation,[4] and assimilation.[5]

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[1]Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, p. 237-280, and Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, pp. 217-274.

[2]See Logan Wilson and Wm. Kolb, Sociological Analysis, pp. 344-366.

[3]Ibid., pp. 155, 156.

[4]Ibid., p. 686.

[5]Loc. cit.

CHAPTER II

THE DAKOTA INDIAN'S CONCEPT OF TIME

Early observers of the Dakotas concluded that they had no concept of time. Schoolcraft wrote, "There are many abstract ideas, such as color, space, and time, which the Dakotahs have no words to express."[1] A similar observation has been made more recently: "The Lakotas[2] seem to have no conception of time, and there is no word for it in their language."[3] A mission superintendent, an Indian Bureau official, a trader, and an Indian Extension worker each expressed the same feeling in conversation with the author. However, before accepting the position that the Dakotas have no concept of time, it must be remembered that these observers in using the term "time" are using a concept of Western civilization. Therefore, the observations of Schoolcraft and Ruby and others can only mean that the Dakotas do not possess Western civilization's concept of time.

Since all people have some perception of "earlier" in distinction from "later" and have some distinction of "past" from "future", one might expect them to have some concept of time. Green says of the Hopi, "Like all peoples, they have a concept of time, but one which varies

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[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, Explorations on the Sources of the Mississippi River, Vol. V, p. 696. Quoted in Herbert Spencer, Descriptive Sociology, Vol. VI, p. 41.

[2] The Teton-Dakota replaces the latter "d" with an "l".

[3] Robert H. Ruby, The Oglala Sioux, p. 27.

with each observer and has zero dimensions; 'it cannot be given a number greater than one.'"[1]

In dealing with the Dakota Indian's concept of time, there is the problem of attempting to describe the meanings of one culture in the terms and meaning of another. It is only on the assumption that the language and thought of one culture is sufficiently flexible and contains a sufficient range of culturally unselected possibilities that this type of intercultural bridge is at all possible. It is assumed that no culture's definition of reality is absolute, and yet, that each provides the foundations of validity and definitions of reality for its people.

An English-Dakota Dictionary gives a Dakota expression for time.[2] It is wihiyayedan yaya. This word is a revealing example of how a language may use its available resources to adopt a concept foreign to its culture. The first word in this Dakota phrase, wihiyayedan, is the Santee-Dakota[3] word for clock, or watch. It too, is an example of using native Dakota concepts to describe an object of another culture. It quite literally appears to mean "moons passing" or "moons becoming." The term yaya is defined as meaning "to count" or "to say over." Thus, in attempting to introduce the Western concept of time into the Dakota culture there is employed a combination of native concepts to form a new meaning. Literally translated, it might read "to count moons passing" or a more hybrid

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] John P. Williamson, An English Dakota Dictionary, p. 245.

[3] There are three Dakota dialects: Santee, Yankton, and Teton.

expression, "clock counting". In a communication with Miss Deloria she translates this expression for time as "to count or read the (little) sun going by or moving along." Rev. Bryde translates wihiyayedan yuza as, "to note or mark the passing of the sun." (The Dakota wi may mean either sun or moon.) He adds, "But, even here, it has a concrete connotation, because it implies some definite time that the sun went past that was recorded or noted; not time in the abstract. One could never use this to translate 'We must use time wisely.'"[1]

The Teton dialect does not contain the above mentioned Santee-Dakota word. The word which is now used for 'time' among the Lakota is oape. Rev. Bryde states that this word comes from the verb apa which means "to hit" and that putting the 'o' in front of the verb makes a noun out of it, meaning "a hitting." This word was used because of the ticking and striking of the first watches and clocks which they saw. Consequently, clocks were called mazaskanskan or the moving iron. Rev. Bryde shows how the Dakota term oape fails to meet the meaning requirement for the abstract definition of time as used in Western culture.

> They took this word "oape" and made it mean "hour" also; To the question "How long will you be here?" they would say "oape numpa" - "two hours" or "two strikings (the banging or hitting of the clock)".
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> Now, today if you would ask an Indian how to say time, some of them would give you the above mentioned word "oape", because that's the closest word to the meaning we want that they can think of; it still doesn't convey the meaning. So much so, that if you would turn around and use it on an old Indian "time is important",

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[1] Letter, July 8, 1956.

> he would most likely think that you meant some particular hour was important; some particular marking or striking of time; not time in general.

Therefore, it may be concluded that the Dakota did not have the abstract Western concept of time, and that their own concept was not objectified through symbolization.

It shall be the plan of this chapter to observe the time concepts, the time value, and the time elements in the structure of the language of the Dakota. These should give some indication of their concept of time.

Time Concepts

While there is no native term for time, the Dakota language does possess many time concepts. By time concepts is meant terms indicating past, present, or future, times of the day, terms for day and night, and other periods or seasons. While the Dakota does not objectively think of time, his objective observations of regular passing phenomena may indicate a unique 'feeling' about time. Time concepts may be expected to be subordinate to a concept of time and thus indirectly reflect the concept of time which is held by a people. A listing of a few selected Dakota time concepts shall provide the foundation for arriving at the subjective concept of time as held by the Dakota. These concepts are taken from the Dakota-English Dictionary by S. R. Riggs,[1] and from the English-Dakota Dictionary of John P. Williamson.

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[1] Stephen Return Riggs, "A Dakota-English Dictionary," Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. VII.

Indefinite Time Concepts:

ahankeya, adv. immediately, then, following, at end of.
aitokam, adv. before, in time.
ao'tehantu, v.n. to be a long time, to be too late.
a'ska'dan, adv. soon, presently.
colcan', adv. long ago, in former time.
decana, adv. now, lately, soon.
ehake, adv. yet, yet to come.
hehan'tu, adv. at that time.
itan, adv. soon after.
oiyankinkeni, adv. not yet time, too soon.
oha'kapa, adv. afterwards.
oinkapaya, adv. at the beginning, in the first place.
owihankeniyan, adv. endlessly, eternally.
pte'cayedan, adv. for a short time.
tanni'han, adv. long ago, of old.
tohanana, adv. sometime.
toka'ta, n. the future.

Definite Time Concepts:

waniyetu, n. winter.
waniyetu wowapi, n. winter counts, winter paintings or records.
wi, n. moon.
anpetu, n. day.
hanyetu, n. night.
anpao, n. the dawn of morning.
anpecokaya, n. midday, noon.
anptaniya, n. the breath of day, i.e. the very first glimmerings of morn.
htayen, adv. in the evening.
ihtahepi, n. before night, before the day is out.
anpebehan, adv. this day, today, now.
anpehan, adv. today, today as past--the past part.
hanakecin, n. Teton, tomorrow.
hancoka, n. in the middle of the night.
hinhan, n. last night.
hinhanna, n. tomorrow morning.
htanihan, n. yesterday.
inankayetu, n. the next day, day following.

There is no concept in the Dakota language comparable to the English year. The English-Dakota Dictionary of Williamson gives wiakenonpa as the Dakota term for year. This term means twelve moons, but since the moon was not a concept of time length and since there is a fraction over

twelve moons in each year, it is obvious that wiakeocupa is an invention of Western culture. Schoolcraft observed that, "The Dakota have no name for year, as contradistinguished from winter."[1] The concept, waniyetu (winter), was not one of time measurement. Since it is a yearly occurrence, it may be pressed by Western culture into service as a unit of time measurement. However, for the Dakotas it was only a recurring season, a time when it was cold and when snow came.

The winter counts were pictographic figures originally drawn on a buffalo skin. Each picture represented an event which was selected by its author to identify a specific winter. These pictographs were arranged in a consecutive order so that an individual could count back to any event-winter and know how many winters he was from it. Once having learned the pictographic events of the winter count, he could identify other events by it, such as the winter of his birth, of his father's death, or other similar events.

A comparison of an interpretation of some of these pictographic "dates" of several of these winter counts will give some idea of their nature as a Dakota time concept. Each of these winter counts is identified by the name of its author or present possessor. The winter counts listed as Roan Bear and Wind were not recorded in pictograph. These two accounts are in the possession of Roan Bear and were passed down to him by Buffalo Head and Wind. They were merely written in Dakota on an old account book and represent the most recent development in this Dakota

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[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, op. cit., p. 177.

invention.[1]

Five winters have been selected from eight different winter counts. A comparison of these will be sufficient to illustrate this particular Dakota time concept.

1800 — '01

Lone Dog[2]: Thirty Dakotas killed by Crow Indians winter.
Battiste Good[3]: "Good-White-Man came winter."
Flying Hawk[4]: When they had measles winter.
Roan Bear[5]: Smallpox--epidemic winter.
Wind[6]: A good White man came winter.
American Horse[7]: Nine White men came to trade with them winter.
Cloud Shield[8]: The good White man came winter.
White Cow Killer[9]: Don't-Eat-Heart makes a god house winter.

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[1]James Howard, "Two Dakota Winter Count Texts," The Plains Anthropologist, V (December 1955), p. 14.

[2]Garrick Mallery, "Picture Writing of the American Indians," Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 273-286.

[3]Ibid., pp. 287-328.

[4]M. I. McCreight, Firewater and Forked Tongues, pp. 163-170.

[5]James Howard, op. cit., pp. 13-29.

[6]Loc. cit.

[7]Garrick Mallery, "On the Pictographs of the North American Indians," Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 130-146.

[8]Loc. cit.

[9]Loc. cit.

1801 -- '02

Lone Dog: Many died of small pox winter.
Battiste Good: "Smallpox-used-them-up-again winter."
Flying Hawk: When good White man came winter.
Roan Bear: White man two country came to understand winter. (Lewis and Clark)
Wind: Shot-Through-The-Hand died winter.
American Horse: Oglalas, Brules, Minneconjous, Sans Arcs, and Cheyennes united in an expedition against the Crows winter.
Cloud Shield: A trader brought their first guns winter.
White Cow Killer: All sick winter.

1803 -- '04

Lone Dog: They stole some curly horses from the Crows winter.
Battiste Good: "Brought-home-Pawnee-horses-with-their-hair-rough-and-curly winter."
Flying Hawk: They brought curly horses winter.
Roan Bear: White men earth walked around winter.
Wind: "Little Beaver" a French trader came and sat down on an Island in the Missouri River winter.
American Horse: They made peace with the Gros Ventres winter.
Cloud Shield: Little Beaver, a White trader came winter.
White Cow Killer: Plenty-of-wooly horses winter.

1833 -- '34 (great meteor shower, Nov. 12, 1833)

Lone Dog: The stars fell winter.
Battiste Good: "Storm-of-stars winter."
Flying Hawk: When the stars were shooting winter.
Roan Bear: Stars moved around winter.
Wind: Stars moved around winter.
American Horse: The stars moved around winter.
Cloud Shield: It rained stars winter.
White Cow Killer: Plenty stars winter.

1876 -- '77

Lone Dog: (this count ends 1870-71)
Battiste Good: "Female-Elk-Walks-Crying died winter."
Flying Hawk: They took horses from Red Cloud winter.
Roan Bear: Long Hair they killed winter (Custer Massacre).
Wind: A man named Big _____ died winter.
American Horse: The Oglalas helped General Mackenzie to whip the Cheyenne winter.
Cloud Shield: Three Stars (General Cook) took Red Cloud's men to help him fight the Cheyennes winter.
White Cow Killer: General Mackenzie took the Red Cloud Indian's horses away from them winter.

Mallery explains many of the problems which arise from the observed differences in various winter counts. When a natural event such as an epidemic, or the knowledge of some event spread slowly over a territory, one count might use this event for the identification of one winter and another count might use it for the next. No regularity was observed in the case of an event coming after a winter or before a winter. When the bands were encamped together or a natural event was important and observable over a wide area, the counts coincide. When these factors are not the case, the same winter is identified by different events in different counts.

The winter counts are no doubt an invention of the Dakota though inspired by contact with Western civilization. Mallery states that the winter count idea was an invention especially appropriate to Indian genius, one which is probably not very old or it would have spread beyond a definite district. As it is, these winter counts have not been found or understood beyond the bands or tribes of the Dakota.[1]

Only the count of Battiste Good goes farther back than 1700 A.D., and this is done only in a mythical manner. The time from 900 A.D. to 1700 A.D. is covered by thirteen cyclical figures. These show European influence.[2]

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[1] Mallery, Fourth Annual Report, op. cit., p. 91.

[2] Mallery, Tenth Annual Report, op. cit., pp. 268,269.

Dr. Corbusier states that several Indians and half breeds had informed him that Battiste Good's count formerly embraced the same number of years as the other two, (about 1775—1879) but that Battiste had gathered names of many years from the old people and placed them in chronological order as far back as he was able to learn them.[1]

Since the winter count is evidently an invention of Dakota culture, it is to be expected that as a time concept it is related to the cultural concept of time which produced it. Obviously it was not a means of time measurement but rather of event location. Each recurring time of snow and cold was identified with some non-recurring natural or social event. The winter was then so identified as to serve to identify other events as they were perpetuated in the memories of the people. Furthermore, the focal point from which events were traced was not a permanent past point of measurement but it was the ever changing present. Past events were always reckoned back from the latest event-winter. In fact, another Dakota name for the winter count is hekta yuwapi which means "count back."

The Dakota wi (moon) is a concept distinct from the English month. However, the English month has its origin in an Anglo-Saxon word that is akin to moon, indicating that the Anglo-Saxons made a meaning transition in their contact with civilization.

The Dakota moons, with approximately corresponding English months as given in Riggs' Dakota-English Dictionary are as follows:

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[1] Mallery, Fourth Annual Report, op. cit., p. 129.

1. Wi-tehi, January; The hard moon.
2. Wicata-wi, February; The racoon moon.
3. Istawicayazan-wi, March; The sore-eye moon.
4. Magaokada-wi, April; The moon in which geese lay eggs: also called wokada-wi; and sometimes watopapi-wi, The moon when the streams are again navigable.
5. Wozupi-wi, May; The planting moon.
6. Wazustecasa-wi, June; The moon when the strawberries are red. Teton, Tipsinla-itkahca-wi, The moon when the seed pods of the Indian turnip mature; and Wipazoka-waste-wi, The moon when the Wipazoka (berries) are good.
7. Canpasapa-wi and Wasumpa-wi, July; The moon when the chokecherries are ripe, and when the geese shed their feathers. Teton, Canpasapa-wi and Takiyuha-wi, The deer-rutting moon.
8. Wasuton-wi, August; The harvest moon. Teton, Kanta-sa-wi, The moon when plums are red.
9. Psinhnaketu-wi, September; The moon when rice is laid up to dry. Teton, Canwapegi-wi, The moon in which the leaves become brown.
10. Wi-wazupi, October; The drying rice moon. Teton, Canwapekasna-wi, The moon when the wind shakes off the leaves; and Wa-yuksapi-wi, Corn harvest moon.
11. Takiyuha-wi, November; The deer rutting moon. Teton, Waniyetu-wi, The winter moon.
12. Tahecapsun-wi, December; The moon when deer shed their horns. Teton, Wanicokan-wi, The mid-winter moon.

The moon names varied as the flora and fauna phenomena common in the environment varied. The wi (moon) was a regularly occurring heavenly phenomenon that synchronized, sometimes quite imperfectly, with recurring earthly phenomena so as to serve the purpose of identifying other events by it. They were not uniform units of time length to be fitted into a larger whole; hence, the Dakota had no concept of a year as such. The absence of the concept of units of time measurement and certain imperfections in the synchronization of heavenly and earthly phenomena resulted in frequent problems for the Dakota. "For example, the period partly embraced by February is called the 'racoon moon'; March, the

'sore-eye moon'; and April, that 'in which the geese lay eggs'. As the appearance of racoons after hibernation, the causes inducing inflamed eyes, and oviposition by geese vary with the meteorological character of each year, and as the twelve lunations reckoned do not bring back the point in the season when counting commenced, there is often dispute in the Dakota tipis toward the end of the winter as to the correct current date."[1]

The Dakota had no week as in Western culture. Anpetu sakowin, which literally means seven days, is now used to fill the need for a translation of this English concept. Anpetuwakan oko is also used, which translated means holy day aperture. That is, the week is understood as being divided off by regular occurring holy days or sabbaths as introduced by Western culture.

The Dakota had words indicating the time when it is light and the time when it is dark. Anpa or anpetu (day) meant when it was light. Thus, anpetu-wi (the day sun) was distinguished from hanyetu-wi (the night sun). Their time length could change with the seasons but they were not thought of in terms of time length but rather in terms of associated natural phenomena. Similarly the parts of the day were not uniform units comprising a whole but rather points that could be identified such as "the middle of the day" or "when the sun was rising."

From these Dakota time concepts, time is not found to be conceptualized as an objective measurement of duration. The only measurement

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[1] Mallery, Tenth Annual Report, op. cit., p. 269.

of duration is found in the indefinite time concepts such as tannihan, long ago, or ptecyedan, for a short time. The measurement of duration in these concepts is subjective rather than objective. All of the other terms are but time indications. The regular cycle of the moon changes were recognized and these were identified with natural phenomena which was important or obvious and which also took place with regularity. The moons indicated "when" certain things took place or when they might be expected to take place, but they did not serve to measure the time from event to event or how long an event was in happening.

These time concepts of the Dakota are what Nilsson has described as discontinuous and 'aoristic' time-indications.

> The starting point for the time-reckoning is therefore afforded by the concrete phenomena of the heavens and of surrounding natural objects, and the succession of these, fixed as it is by experience, serves as a guide in the chronological sequence. These phenomena extend over periods which are very dissimilar to one another and are individually of varying lengths; they cross and overlap in some cases, in others they leave gaps. The time-indications are not directly connected with each other, but this connexion is achieved by the phenomena in question. Hence the indications are not circumscribed by one another, but the phenomena as such are regarded. The latter are not conceived of as divisions of time of a definite length; they do not appear as parts of a larger whole, limited on both sides by their connexion with other divisions of time. The conception of continuity, the immediate fusion of the chronological phenomena into one another, is lacking: the time indications are discontinuous.[1]

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[1] Martin P. Nilsson, Primitive Time-Reckoning, pp. 356,357.

The discontinuous nature of the Dakotas' time concepts were observed by Dr. William H. Corbusier, surgeon, U. S. Army:

> The Dakotas make use of the circle as the symbol of a circle of time, as a life-time, one old man.

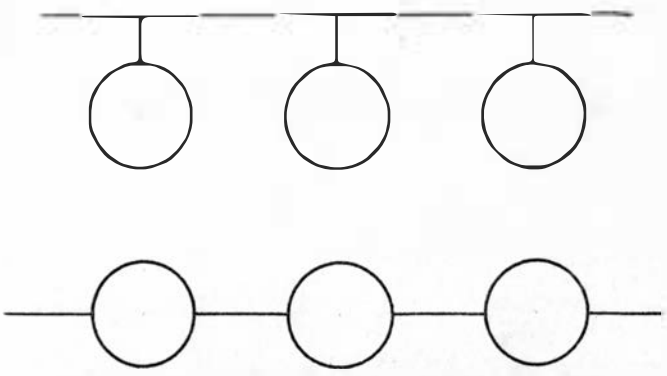

Fig. 182.--Device denoting succession of time. Dakota

> Also a round of lodges or a cycle of seventy years, as in Battiste Good's winter count. The continuance of time is sometimes indicated by a line extending in a direction from right to left across the page when on paper, and the annual circles are suspended from a line at regular intervals by short lines, as in Fig. 182, upper character, and the ideograph for the years placed beneath each one. At other times the line is not continuous, but is interrupted at regular intervals by the yearly circle, as in the lower character of Fig. 182.[1]

In both of these figures the consecutive element is portrayed but in each the cycle is something complete in itself and dissociated from the other. That is, the Dakota concept of time is one of continuity but their time concepts are discontinuous, indicating that they are not units of time measurement—but only indications or locations along the continuity of time. Therefore, it is evident that their concept of time was not one of measurement.

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[1] Mallery, Tenth Annual Report, op. cit., p. 265.

Though the Dakota concept of time was not one of measured duration, yet the indefinite time concepts indicate that as with all people time is perceived as duration; viz. aotehantu (to be a long time); askadan (soon); and others. The Dakota concept of time is then a subjective concept of duration, a duration which does not admit of boundaries; hence, it cannot be divided or measured, for as soon as it is bounded it ceases to be duration. Or, quite reasonably, to cut off duration is to end duration. Duration as conceived and used by the author is the sense of the continuance of self identity through a change of or changes in or toward the environment of that self identity. Time then for the Dakota was a continuance of self identity through a change of or changes in or toward the environment. Changes in the Dakota's environment were first of all those synchronically occurring natural phenomena; winter with snow and cold weather, moon phases with seasons or times in the plant and animal world, day and night with light and darkness; a procession of the events of nature. Furthermore, these synchronically occurring events of nature provided the basis for what synchronization there developed in the Dakota's social life. With the coming of winter they gathered along the creek beds and sheltered places. The Sun Dance provides an example of the synchronic operation of natural and social events. "In Miss Fletcher's account of the Oglala Sun Dance of 1882, she says, 'The festival generally occurs in the latter part of June or early in July and lasts about six days. The time is fixed by the budding of the Artemisia ludoviciana.'"[1] Riggs stated that it was

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[1]Commonly called sage. James Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 450.

always held at full moon; later he felt that this was possibly in error. However, Black Elk, a recent priest of the Oglala Sioux, states, "It is held each year during the moon of fattening (June) or the moon of cherries blackening (July), always at the time when the moon is full, for the growing and dying of the moon reminds us of our ignorance which comes and goes; but when the moon is full it is as if the eternal light of the Great Spirit were upon the whole world."[1]

Summarizing our conclusions drawn from the time concepts of the Dakota, their concept of time is that of a continuance of self identity in a permanently patterned environment of natural and social events. It is subjective. It is an unmeasured or eternal time. To hurry, there is no object, so long as one is keeping in step with the permanent order of things: to move faster would only be to get out of step with the pattern of reality.

The Value of Time

Another indirect manner of approach to the Dakota subjective definition of time is in the worth he attaches to it. That is, what time means to him is related to the sense in which it is valued by him and also to the sense in which it is not valued by him. This of course, assumes the obvious relationship between a culture's value structure and its definitions of reality.

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[1] Joseph Epes Brown, The Sacred Pipe, p. 67.

Burton observed that the Dakota placed little value on time as measured duration. This is to be expected, since, as has been observed, the Dakota does not define time as measured duration. "If the Indian works well, he does not work quickly; he will expend upon a half a dozen arrows as many months."[1] F. A. Seely's observation relating measured time to values is pertinent here. ".... in fact, the observation of hours of the day does not appear to obtain until civilization is reached. This is true however, -- men measure most carefully that which they value most, and the value of time is enhanced just in proportion to the multiplicity of the demands upon it which the existing state of society involves."[2] Seely's statement would seem to imply that since time is not measured in Dakota culture, it is therefore not valued. This conclusion is not valid since the logic upon which it is based does not allow for a definition of time other than that of measured duration. It is an example of culture bound circuitous reasoning. That is, since Western culture measures carefully what it values most, if any other people do not measure a thing they do not value it. The only deduction that can be made from Seely's statement is that time, as defined by Western civilization, is not valued in Dakota culture.

Even in Western culture a kind of value is placed on some things not measured. When space is sufficiently plentiful that fresh air can

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[1] R. F. Burton, City of the Saints, p. 147. Quoted in Herbert Spencer, Descriptive Sociology, Vol. VI, p. 4.

[2] F. A. Seely, "Time Keeping in Greece and Rome," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1889, Vol. XX, p. 378.

be considered a free good, and when the availability of fresh uncontaminated water is such that it may be considered a free good it is not measured. But still they are positively valued. Therefore, Seely's statement is to be somewhat modified by saying that men measure most carefully that which they put the greatest economic value on. In Western culture it is easy to forget that there is any other kind of value.

The concept of time as a free good is logically related to its not being measured duration. In a communication from Miss Deloria a statement is made which supports this logical deduction. "There is no specific in Dakota for Time. People were no more conscious of it than of free air—for which also there is none."[1] 'Free good' is a Western concept used in contrast to an economic good. As a concept of time it is quite foreign to Western culture, yet it appears to describe quite accurately that of the Dakota culture.

'Indian time' is an expression of commonly recognized meaning to those living in contact with the Dakotas. Ruby observes:

> The expression 'by Indian time', to describe the characteristic way in which Indians disregard fixed appointments or dawdle over their work, is in common usage. Meetings always start late and last long. When an Indian is confronted with a task to perform, he never considers how long it will take, or when it may be completed. The Indian enjoys the moment in which he lives.
>
> He never thinks of tomorrow: where he will be; what he must do, where he will live, or how.[2]

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[1]Letter, July 3, 1956.

[2]Robert H. Ruby, The Oglala Sioux, p. 27.

The fact that the Dakota enjoys the moment in which he lives indicates a certain positive value placed on a concept of time. This may be seen more clearly against the contrast of a negative value which Western culture places upon this concept of time. In white culture enjoyment is identified with "time going fast," and conversely pain or other undesirable experience "makes the hours drag by." But with the Dakota, "The patience of the Indian in enduring long speeches, sermons or harangues, has ever been exemplary and peculiar as his fortitude in suffering lingering physical tortures."[1] The expression "to kill time" is a Western negative attitude toward "time that stands still." This negative attitude toward a present emphasized concept of time finds every effort expended to escape the present and live in the future. On the other hand, the Dakota values the present and shows a lack of concern about the future.

While the Dakota had no concept of time as measured duration and hence did not value it as such, they did, like all people, have a perception of duration. This duration is not measured, it is not divided, it is boundless. It is a free good possession; not something to be gained or increased, nor to be lost or wasted, nor to be killed with feverish activity. As such, time is valued in terms of carefree enjoyment, security and happiness, which is provided within the permanence of the culture pattern itself.

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[1] Burton, op. cit., p. 134.

The Time Structure of the Language

"The grammar of our mother tongue determines not only the way we build sentences but also the way we view nature and break up the kaleidoscope of experience into objects and entities about which to make a sentence."[1] That language and culture are closely related is very obvious. Without language culture could not exist. It is man's ability to symbolize that sets him apart from the lower animals and enables him to be the exclusive creator of culture. Language then, as the vehicle and medium of culture must be integrally related to it. "Intensive study of language structure has shown that man's perception and interpretation of reality is in large measure governed by the particular language that he uses."[2] Therefore, the structure of the Dakota language may be expected to reveal something about its cultural concept of time. If our conclusions thus far are correct, it should confirm or supplement them.

A unique characteristic of the language of Western civilization is that they possess "imaginary plurals" and a three tense verb system. The imaginary plurals make possible an expression such as "ten days" as though they were an assembled unit. "These structural pecularities of imaginary plurals and three tenses existed long before the rise of

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[1] Benjamin Lee Whorf, "Time, Space, and Language," in Laura Thompson, Culture in Crisis, p. 153.

[2] Green, op. cit., p. 72.

modern science. They permitted, even fostered, modern Western science."[1]

On the other hand, the Dakota language does not have a three tense verb system. "While the Lakota verb has modifications to show person and number, it has none to indicate tense or time. The verb in itself is indefinite."[2] This study is indebted to, and shall use Whorf's observations of the Hopi to interpret the significance of a language without a three tense system.

> The three tense system of verbs colors all our thinking about time. This system is amalgamated with that larger scheme of objectification of the subjective experience of duration already noted in other patterns. .... This objectification enables us to "stand time units in a row." Imagination of time as a row harmonizes with a system of three tenses; whereas a system of two, an earlier and a later, would seem to correspond better to the feeling of duration as it is experienced. For if we inspect consciousness we find no past, present, future, but a unity embracing complexity; everything is in consciousness, and everything in consciousness is, and is together.[3]

It is possible by means other than the verb to indicate in the Dakota, past, present, and future, but in doing so it is more the manner of "earlier" and "later." The absence of a three tense verb system indicates that time is not objectified into a concept of measurement but is only a matter of consciousness, or what Whorf calls, "latering" or "duration." Time is thus a subjective concept, one in which the present is all-encompassing.

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[1] Ibid., p. 73.

[2] Eugene Buechel, A Grammar of Lakota, p. 275.

[3] Whorf, op. cit., pp. 160, 161.

While the English language emphasizes different tenses, the Dakota carefully distinguishes different modes of 'being.' The English has only one verb "to be;" the Dakota has eight and each must be used with discrimination. The emphasis is clearly placed upon the present.

From these brief observations of the structural character of the Dakota language, the previous deductions of this study regarding the Dakota concept of time are confirmed. Time is observed to be subjective consciousness, an all-embracing present or eternal time which is not measured. To quote again from Miss Deloria's letter, "You see, we Indians lived in eternity!"

CHAPTER III

WESTERN CIVILIZATION'S CONCEPT OF TIME

In the languages of Western civilization the concept of time is symbolized. It is a concept with an objective definition. "Time is usually defined as measured duration."[1]

Time and the Social Order

The English word 'time' is of Anglo-Saxon origin. Its root comes from the same source as tide. 'Time' and 'tide' are synonyms though perhaps not recognized as such in popular usage. This meaning however, is recognized in such words as eventide and Christmastide. The etymology of these words traces a concept which is identified with the course of civilization. The common Indo-Germanic root of 'time' and of 'tide' is DĀ or DAI which means "to divide."[2] From this root comes the Greek δαίομαι (to divide, distribute) and also the Sanskrit dā or dāti, to mow off, cut off, and dayate, he distributes.[3] The Sanskrit aditi carried the meaning of endless or unlimited. However, the 'a' in this related word is a negative prefix which leaves the root, diti, with the meaning of limited or having an end.[4] These related root words are the progenitors of the

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[1] Willis I. Milham, Time and Timekeepers, p. 1.

[2] Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary, p. xx.

[3] Loc. cit., the parenthesis is found in Henry George Liddel and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, p. 306.

[4] Ibid., p. 1507.

meaning which 'time' and 'tide' are the modern English conveyors. It is the idea of division that is necessary to a concept of measurement; and for division and measurement, time must become an abstract quantity.

Latin was the basic contact through which the Anglo-Saxon met the expanding Western civilization because Rome was, at that time, its chief bearer. The abstract idea of measurable time is found in the Latin tempus.[1] The Latins inherited the torch of civilization and with it its concept of time from the Greeks whose word τεμνω[2] (to cut off) they utilized to construct the concept of measurable time.

The Anglo-Saxon did not adopt the Greek χρονος or the Latin tempus to symbolize civilization's concept of time. They were able to symbolize from the meanings of their own culture a concept which hitherto was foreign. Thus the meaning which the Latin borrowed from the Greek τεμνω (to cut off) to express the meaning of the Greek χρονος (time), became an objective, symbolized concept in the Anglo-Saxon tīma and tīd.[3]

Since Western civilization's concept of time is one of divisible or measurable quantity, its time concepts are units of time measurement. Year, month, week, day, hour, minute, second, as well as decade, century, and millenium are lengths of time. In and of themselves they are in no

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[1] The Classic Latin Dictionary, p. 569.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Webster's op. cit., p. 1509.

wise time indications. A year may be a calendar year from January 1 through December 31, or it may be a fiscal year beginning at an arbitrarily selected date. It may be the time from one's birthday to the next. The essential definition of the concept is that of a specified length of duration.

The Indo-Germanic root meanings of the major English time measurement concepts will show that they have become carriers of meaning which was originally foreign to them. Here is observed the working of a principle, abstracted by Karl Mannheim as the 'sociology of knowledge.' This principle he briefly explains, "By this we mean the subjects whole mode of conceiving things as determined by his historical and social setting."[1] Robert Merton quotes Durkeim and Mauss relative to this principle, "even ideas as abstract as those of time and space are, at each moment of their history, in close relation with the corresponding social organization."[2]

The etymology of some of these time concepts of Western civilization in the English language will provide the basis for observing the role of a different social order in changing concept meanings.

> Year—From similar root as hour, meaning a season.
> Month—From same source as moon. When the Greeks inherited civilization from the East, they called the moon MEN from the Sanskrit ma, to measure.[3] The moon is a measurer only as the culture defines it as such.

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[1] Mannheim, op. cit., p. 239.

[2] Merton, op. cit., p. 226.

[3] Liddell and Scott, op. cit., p. 929.

Week—Probably the original meaning was a succession or change.
Day—From a Sanskrit root meaning to burn, which is an evident association with the shining of the sun.
Hour—From a Greek root meaning a season.
Minute—The root essentially means small.
Second—Meaning following—or next in order. (as used relative to time, next smaller division of time.)

We may conclude that these time concepts did not originally bear a meaning of time measurement.

From these time concepts as well as the observations made at the beginning of this chapter relative to the concept 'time,' several conclusions are obvious.

First, the Anglo-Saxon and related languages did not originally possess concepts of time measurement.

Second, the origins of the concept of time measurement are reflected in the early Sanskrit forms as in (a)diti with its idea of limitation as well as the conception of the moon as a unit of time measurement.

Third, as these Anglo-Saxon and related cultures came into contact with the culture of spreading civilization tīma and tīd were employed to symbolize the new concept. Then the necessary units of measurement or time concepts were invented.

Fourth, as the social order of civilization became more complex, terms with somewhat suggestive meanings were utilized to symbolize the time concepts of increasing refinement.

Perhaps a fifth conclusion may be added. The old cultures of the Anglo-Saxon and associated peoples with their concept of time have passed away, and English speaking peoples of today are the inheritors of a

civilization with its cultural meanings that had its beginning in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and adjacent areas.

The concept of time as measurement, as distinct from the Dakota concept is related to the social order as would be expected on the basis of the previously mentioned theories of Mannheim, Durkheim, Mauss, and Merton. This can be illustrated by the base of measurement common in all the societies of Western civilization. In the Dakota winter counts the base of indication was the present winter count from which counting backward, events were identified. In Western civilization the base is the beginning of a religious-political era or regime, forward from which time was measured. "When we come to the great civilizations of antiquity in the valleys of the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Nile or in China, we find established the method of chronological computation by reckoning dynasties of rulers. Social continuity finds its expression and its measure in the development of social organization."[1] Babylon, among the early civilizations, is an example of the relation between a kind of social order and time measurement.

> Among the tablets in the British Museum are two so called 'dynastic tablets' which contain lists of the kings of Babylon from the time that Babylon became the leading city of the country to its capture by the Persians. The kings are divided into eight dynasties, the length of the reign of each king was originally given, and at the end of each dynasty a statement was given of the number of kings in that dynasty and the total length of their reigns.[2]

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[1] "Chronology," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. V, p. 653.

[2] George A. Barton, Archeology and the Bible, p. 58.

Time was indicated also by measurement from the beginning of a reign of a particular sovereign. Translations from monuments on which are inscribed Assyrian cuneiform writing contains such statements as the following by Shalamaneser, "In the eleventh year of my reign I set out from Nineveh. I crossed the River Euphrates at high water for the ninth time...."[1]

A similar method of time reckoning is found in the Biblical records of the kings of Judah and Israel. "Now in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them."[2]

These early forms of civil-social order were religious-political in nature.[3] The Romans reckoned time from the somewhat uncertain date of the founding of Rome. Since their empire fell into decay and also because a form of Christianity became the state religion of the "Holy Roman Empire," this base of reckoning was shifted to the approximate date of the birth of Christ. Charlemange is said to have been the first to do this. It is also significant that the first month of the Western calendar year is named after the Roman emperor which made the calendar reform and begins at the time of year when he took office.

Reference could also be made to the Mohammedan dominated states of

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[1] Ibid., p. 459.

[2] II Kings 18:13

[3] Sutherland, et al., Introductory Sociology, p. 319.

the Middle and Near East where time is measured from the Heggira (the flight of Mohammed from Mecca and compares with 622 A.D. of the Christian era).

It has been observed that the concept of time measurement is identified with the religious-political rise and development of Western civilization. The Dakota had in contrast a familial type of social order. A term which might most properly, from an etymological standpoint, contrast this social order with that of civilization, would be familization. In this social order of the Dakotas there was no state which might be the office of rising or discontinuing regimes. Rather, social control was a matter of rigidly defined relationship patterns in a closely knit and relatively small societies of people. Behavior prescriptions and proscriptions were a matter of close interpersonal relationship and respect rather than respect for an impersonal abstraction called the state in the hands of its delegated officers. The cultural pattern of the Dakota was not something that came and went; had beginnings and endings. It was a permanent pattern of a life way and therefore not to be measured. Participation in that which is permanent calls forth no need or occasion for measurement.

Time and the Value Structure

The value structure of Western civilization also should reflect a difference in the concept of time as compared with Dakota culture.

It is through the medium of its institutions that Western civilization's concept of time will be seen to be related to its value structure. Sumner's definition of an institution is most pertinent here.

> An institution consists of a concept (idea, notion, Doctrine, interest) and a structure. The structure is a framework, or apparatus, or perhaps only a number of functionaries set to cooperate in prescribed ways at a certain conjuncture. The structure holds the concept and furnishes instrumentalities for bringing it into the world of facts and action in a way to serve the interests of men in society.[1]

No doubt all of our institutions involve either directly or indirectly the Western concept of time. A few of them directly involved may be listed: taxes, wages, loans, interest, debt, savings, rent, insurance, old age pension, social security, and installment buying. It is obvious that a concept of time measurement is quite central to the whole Western economic structure. Also that the economic structure is an integral part of the value system. Time as duration is valued according to the length of its duration and in terms of the economic monetary values of our society and its definitions of success. As has often been stated, "time is money." Time is therefore very carefully measured, and efficiency becomes a technique of increasing its value. In contrast to the Dakota free good concept, time is an economic good to be saved, gained, distributed, or gambled, squandered, lost, killed. It is valued in terms of its continued passing and what culturally defined satisfactions its passing brings to the individual or the group.

The value which a society places upon its concept of time is shown also in the use to which it is put. Time, as objectively measured and arbitrarily indicated in Western culture, becomes the means and medium of the synchronization of social activity and understanding. Western

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[1] William Graham Sumner, Folkways, pp. 53, 54.

culture has chosen the approximate time of the birth of Christ as a chief reference point of historic time measurement and event identification. It has arbitrarily selected midnight as the beginning of the day and January first or about midwinter of the northern Temperate Zone as the beginning of the year. There is much agitation for calendar reform, so that if a consensus is reached the present length of the months may be changed, even though the earth and moon spin on their ways with no significant change in pace. Western man may choose to shift his day by going on daylight savings time if social conditions or problems are better served by it. Time zones with specific boundaries have been selected solely on the basis of social necessity. Across the boundaries of these zones time differs by one hour. Within these zones 7:00 P.M. is 7:00 P.M. whether it is light in summer or dark in winter. Whether under the darkness of the tropical summer night at the equator or under the relatively cold of the midnight sun of the Arctic, 11:00 P.M. is 11:00 P.M. Time for Western man is thus seen to be a tool for the coordination and control of a society in conquest of its natural environment.

Western Time in Contrast to Dakota Time

The Dakota's use of time indications is a passive acceptance of the order in nature and in society. Time is as much beyond the shaping touch of man as the phases of the moon, the sequence of daylight and darkness, or the rotation of the seasons with their accompanying floral and faunal phenomena. While to Western civilization time is the conquest of his environment, to the Dakota time is an identification of himself with his environment, a moving along with the natural order of things.

Time for the Dakota is subjectively defined as an unmeasured free good; a free good to be enjoyed in the present security of the permanence and perfection of a nature-ruled cultural order that asks but one thing of the individual—his acceptance of its provisions and its order. Time is the relaxed satisfaction of being, the permanent enjoyment of a fixed reality, the arriving at and participating in a present perfection.

Time in Western civilization is objectively defined as a measured economic good; an economic good that is to be enjoyed only in the exchange value which it has in terms of material goods, need satisfactions, and culturally defined status components. Western civilization's concept of time demands and calls forth individual initiative within an arbitrarily ordered society. Time is the intense anticipation of becoming--the continual pain of receding horizons of reality, the pursuance of a future.

CHAPTER IV

A CONCEPT OF TIME IN CULTURAL INERTIA

The concept of time of the old culture is a factor in the problems confronting many of the present day Dakota Indians. The press stated in reporting a speech made by Dr. Ben Reifel, Aberdeen Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "One of the principle reasons that it is difficult for the Indians to adjust fully to the white man's way of life, is his failure (due to cultural background) to realize the significance of time ("There is no Sioux word for time"), the need to save and the indispensibility of hard work to productive life."[1] The Dakota cultural concept of time has survived after a century of contact with Western culture, which has included an increasing amount of Western educational experiences. It has persisted in spite of the difficulties in which it has involved those who appear to cling to the old definitions. This indicates that there are change resistant factors associated with a cultural concept of time.

A logical analysis has been developed to explain the change resistant quality of the Dakotas' concept of time. It is as follows: Since all culturally defined concepts are learned, the learning experience itself may reveal factors contributing toward its persistence. Since it is the culture that defines for the individual his social experience, in it may be found forces of persistence. Finally, in the psychological

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[1] Sioux Falls Argus Leader, November 9, 1955.

reasons behind the culture structure -- the premises from which it develops and operates -- there should be some explanation for its inertia. From this analysis the enduring qualities of the Dakotas' concept of time shall be studied.

The Learning Process and Socialization

Mary Sturt conducted studies among English children relative to their development of a concept of time. She concluded that, "time is a concept, and that this concept is constructed by each individual under the influence of the society in which he lives."[1] Freidman conducted studies among elementary school pupils, junior and senior high school students, and adults in Minneapolis, Minnesota. His studies sought to find the factors in the learning of time concepts. He concluded that, "To a large extent the time concepts develop independently of organized school instruction."[2] He further observed, "Classification according to intelligence quotient showed in most cases a higher per cent of correct answers with increasing ability. The trend, however, was not nearly so marked or so constant as were increases in the percentages of correct responses given by pupils of successively higher grades."[3] These

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[1] Mary Sturt, The Psychology of Time, p. 141.

[2] Kopple C. Freidman, "Time Concepts of Elementary School Children," Elementary School Journal, XLIV (February 1944), p. 341.

[3] Ibid., p. 338. See also Kopple C. Freidman, "Time Concepts of Junior and Senior High School Pupils and Adults," School Review, LII (April 1944), pp. 233-238.

studies and others show that the development of a concept of time and of time concepts in a child of Western culture is primarily a matter of socialization during maturation.

Since, as has been observed, the Dakotas' concept of time is implicit in the culture rather than explicit, the learning of this concept can be only a by-product of the socialization of the individual; that is, it would result from the learning of the meanings of the culture in which it was implicit.

While the concept of time measurement in Western culture is grasped only with the progress of maturation of the individual, still a foundation for it is laid early.

> As soon as a child begins to take an active interest in the routine of activities in his day, according to the schedule set for him, he begins to get an idea of measurement of time. This idea comes through a realization that a number of events may come into a period between two major events of the day, such as all the things he will do before another meal-time arrives. He may say, "I'll go out to play, and sleep, and play again, and then we'll have supper."[1]

However, for the growing Dakota child no time schedule based on time measurement has been set up. "According to Schoolcraft the Dakota Indians have no regular meal time."[2] Nor are any other events scheduled by a framework of measured time. His concept of time, not being objective,

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[1] M. Lucile Harrison, "The Nature and Development of Concepts of Time Among Young Children," Elementary School Journal XXXIV (March, 1934) p.509.

[2] Albert Ernest Jenks, "The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 1087.

does not require the effort of observation or analysis. It is rather something that becomes a part of him as he becomes a part of his society.

Since socialization is a process in which the individual develops the attitudes which make it possible for him to participate in the social life of the group,[1] the concepts which he learns in this process become bonds of identification with his group. To break with the socially defined meanings of the group is to break with the group itself.

The Dakota's socialization takes place in many primary, but highly structured, contacts of the immediate family and also of the extended family circle. Hence, his meanings carry not only the definition of reality, but are emotionally laden with the values of the group.

There are two sides to the process of socialization. One, as has been illustrated, is the process of becoming a part of and finding one's place in the group. The other side is the formation of personality. "The term <u>socialization</u> is used to designate the process by which social interaction results in the formation of personality."[2] It is a process by which the individual learns to see himself, his group, and his world. These all must necessarily form some pattern, some coherent order. Therefore, in the process of the development of his own personality he does not learn isolated concepts, but rather, a whole conceptual scheme is formed which defines for him his world of reality. Thus, the Dakota not only acquires a subjective concept of time, but the whole framework into which it fits.

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[1] Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, <u>Sociological Analysis</u>, p. 156.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 181.

Fitting in with the Dakota concept of time as defined in this study, is wakan or the impersonal concept of the supernatural. It is the wakan concept of the supernatural that makes unnecessary any time perspective of a beginning and an ending and hence, an 'eternal time'--the all important now. Also the relative concept of social control fits into this framework for it is bound to totemistic beliefs. The totemistic belief is not just a matter of having an animal ancestor but is a bond which "connects his whole physical and social existence with his totemic ancestor."[1] Or, as Cassirer goes on to state, it provides for a solidarity and an indestructible unity of life which is used to oppose the fact of death. The Dakota's concept of time is thus seen to be related to his concept of social order.

Since the concept of time is not an isolated concept, but an integrated concept in the organization of the individual's personality, the natural striving toward the maintenance of mental equilibrium would be a factor opposing change. This principle is a factor of rigidity in the generation possessing the Dakota concept of time. The processes of socialization and group identification span generations and carry with them the concepts of the past.

The Culture Pattern

Rational beings demand that life have meaning and that it have purpose--there must be some sense to life and there must be something for

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[1] Ernst Cassirer, An Essay on Man, p. 110.

which to live.[1] It is this common demand of human personality that is the basis for culture pattern and integration. Since personality itself develops in the process of social interaction and since in order for group life to exist there must be some common core or ground of rational meanings and purposes, the culture pattern emerges. A concomitant of the culture pattern is an accompanying degree of communality in the set of practices which are worked out by the people. The common rational meanings and common purposes are usually spoken of as the definitions of reality and the value structure of the culture. These two are very significant in studying human behavior and particularly in relation to the problems of the Dakota. In one is found the mechanics of motivation and in the other the dynamics of motivation.

In the first part of this chapter it was observed that the Dakota concept of time became a part of the individual's system of concepts. It seems probable that it should also be an integral part of the whole culture pattern. Though the Dakota learns his concept of time through experience in his social group, yet it is the culture of his group that defines the meanings of that experience for him. When culturally defined meanings continue after they have lost their utility through the changing conditions of contact with another culture, some quality of endurance is suggested within the culture pattern itself. In Chapter II of this study the Dakota concept of time was dealt with in terms of its value. In this chapter it was shown that in the learning process the individual's definitions become identified with his values. It is now further suggested

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[1] Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, Social Disorganization, p. 42.

that the cultural time-perspective provides a direct tie between the reality and value structures and is in a sense a basic principle of direction in them. In thus structuring the cultural pattern it makes change impossible within the framework of the culture without destroying or distorting the framework itself. That is to say, so long as the culture as such endures, so also will its definitions -- its concepts.

A definition of time perspective and its role in human behavior is given by Slotkin:

> Time perspective is a group's conception of its present in relation to its past and future. The group's customary retrospect of its past constitutes his history; its customary prospect of its future actions, its expectations.... It is important to recall that in their perception of situations a people's frame of reference depends to a large extent on their experiences in the past and anticipation of the future. .... Time perspective strengthens the solidarity of the group and reinforces its customs. Being a continuum, it gives people a sense of persistence and unity of their group and its customs.[1]

Time perspective is an integral part of value behavior. How the past and future are viewed in relation to the present is the essence of the value-idea. Otherwise, as a concept, it would not be distinguishable from immediate desire without social control. When native behavior is transformed into conduct in which the individual responds to present immediate situation-events as point-events in a sequence, the later or more remote components of which are the focus of that conduct, as Frank observes, he is building or accepting values. "The more remote the focus of his time perspectives, the more he will exhibit preparatory or instrumental behavior that uses the present only as a means to the future; the more immediate the

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[1] J. S. Slotkin, Social Anthropology, pp. 531-534.

focus the more he will exhibit consummatory behavior and react naively and ignore consequences.[1]

Recorded history provides the societies of Western culture with their time perspective and value patterns. Frank's analysis of this truth shall be quoted to provide a contrasting background against which the time perspective of the Dakota may be seen.

> Again we see in written history how the past is used to construct the future time perspective, since, as J. W. Swain has suggested, we write history only because we are interested in the future and our desire to influence others' values by showing how the trend of the past makes such values alone desirable. ....It is as if the remote past were focused upon the present, whereas it is the immediate present and its perplexities that are focused upon the past, giving the past the dimensions of our past needs and values, which in turn are constituted by our future time perspective and aspirations.
>
> Thus, just as we project forward the sequence of events that fear, hope, tradition or science have taught us to believe flows forward from the particular situation we are confronting, so we project backward a sequence of events as we prefer to see the trends of history. In these projections forward and backward, the largest influence, unless somewhat checked but never eliminated by scientific methods, is the immediate present with its beliefs, necessities, perplexities, and emotional feeling tones.
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> Seemingly then the future determines the present, the present controls the past but the past creates that future and so imposes its values on the present.[2]

Thus Western culture, whose societies possess written histories and a concept of time measurement builds its values. A time perspective in which the past and future are separated from the present in terms of measured time, produces values on a means-end principle. Since the Dakota did

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[1] L. K. Frank, "Time Perspectives," Society As The Patient, p. 344.

[2] Ibid., pp. 348,349,350.

not possess a written history or a concept of measured time, their value system might be expected to differ from that of Western culture in kind as well as in detail.

The time perspective of Western civilization in its broadest aspects involves the history of that civilization with its conquest of nature and its competitive conquests by people and of people. In a narrower sense it involves the beginnings of a particular civil society and the record of its struggle to grow and gain or maintain its place in the sun. It involves the society's growth as a political power. The growth of political power consists largely in the possession of or control of natural resources and their utilization to support, satisfy, and make secure a large population. Since the state is not conceived of as following the individual beyond the grave, the future perspective is a matter of a heritage for future generations through the continuing politico-economic social order. Value then in Western civilization is the goal reached by success in a competitive conquest over his natural and social environment. With this time perspective structured value system the present is sacrificed to secure the future and the future is borrowed from to supply the present. Witness the amount spent for insurance and social security on the one hand and the amount of buying on the installment plan or by borrowed capital on the other. It appears that time itself has become a servant of human conquest in Western culture.

In contrast to all of this, Dakota societies had no historical time perspective and consequently their values were constructed and perpetuated in a somewhat different manner. In Dakota culture the time perspective is the function of its myths which take the place of recorded

history as found in Western societies. In the perspective of myth past and future are bound to the present rather than separated from them as in the perspective of history.

> When man first became cognizant of the problem of time, when he was no longer confined within the narrow circle of his immediate desires and needs, when he began to inquire into the origin of things, he could find only a mythical, not a historical origin. In order to understand the world—the physical world as well as the social world—he had to project it upon the mythical past. In myth we find the first attempts to ascertain a chronological order of things and events, to give a cosmology and a genealogy of gods and men. But this cosmology and genealogy do not signify a historical distinction in the proper sense. The past, present, and future are all tied up together; they form an undifferentiated unity and an indiscriminate whole. Mythical time has no definite structure; it is still an "eternal time." From the point of view of the mythical consciousness the past has never passed away; it is always here and now. When man begins to unravel the complex web of the mythical imagination he feels himself transported into a new world; he begins to form a new concept of truth.[1]

However, to form a new concept of truth is very difficult for though one may catch some glimpses of 'truth as others see it' still he is made aware that his own cultural background and definitions are very much with him. Black Elk's account and explanation of Oglala mythology does help the person of Western culture in some measure to grasp the nature of mythical time perspective. It will be necessary first to give a portion of Black Elk's account of the origins of the Sacred Pipe from which the whole mythical system seems to stem.

> Early one morning, very many winters ago, two Lakota were out hunting with their bows and arrows, and as they were on a hill looking for game, they saw in the distance something coming towards them in a very strange and wonderful manner. When this mysterious thing came nearer to them,

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[1] Cassirer, op. cit., p. 219.

> they saw that it was a very beautiful woman, dressed in white buckskin, and bearing a bundle on her back. Now this woman was so good to look at that one of the Lakota had bad intentions and told his friend of his desire, but this good man said that he must not have such thoughts, for surely this is a wakan woman. The mysterious person was now very close to the men, and then putting down her bundle, she asked the one with the bad intentions to come over to her. As the young man approached the mysterious woman, they were both covered by a great cloud, and soon when it lifted the sacred woman was standing there and at her feet was the man with the bad thoughts who was now nothing but bones, and terrible snakes were eating him.[1]

According to Black Elk it was this woman who gave to the Oglalas the Sacred Pipe to be used in each of their seven rites. To the reader of Western culture this story has none of the elements of historical veracity. However, it is in Black Elk's explanation that the 'mythical veracity' and time perspective is seen as he unwittingly expresses the character of his own culture. "Black Elk emphasized that this should not only be taken as an event in time, but also as an eternal truth. 'Any man,' he said, 'who is attached to the senses and to the things of this world, is one who lives in ignorance and is being consumed by the snakes which represent his own passions.'"[2] In this expression of Black Elk's the time perspective of the Dakota mythology is seen to be that which is described by Cassirer—the past is tied to the present.

It seems also that the future of the myths were identified with the present. In the myth regarding the gift of the Sacred Pipe, Black Elk reports the sacred woman as saying:

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[1] Joseph Epes Brown, The Sacred Pipe, pp. 3-4.

[2] Ibid., p. 4, footnote.

"Behold this pipe! Always remember how sacred it is, and treat it as such, for it will take you to the end. Remember, in me there are four ages. I am leaving now, but I will look back upon your people in every age, and at the end I shall return."[1]

The author then adds this footnote:

> According to Siouan mythology, it is believed that at the beginning of the cycle a buffalo was placed at the west in order to hold back the waters. Every year this buffalo loses one hair, and every age he loses one leg. When all his hair and all four legs are gone, then the waters rush in once again, and the cycle comes to an end. ....It is believed by the American Indian .... that at the present time the buffalo or bull is on his last leg, and he is very bald.[2]

Though Black Elk expresses some influence of Western culture, yet in the mythology its future is the present for the Dakota. Past and future in this sense are conceived, as Cassirer states, to be bound to the present.

With a time perspective in which past, present, and future are still tied up together, value behavior does not become a matter of weighing present action in the light of past experience and future consequences. A good is not an end to be reached, rather it is what is. Dorothy Lee's description of the mythical nature of the Trobriandars' time perspective shows it to be similar to that of the Dakota.

> Becoming involves temporality, but Trobriand 'being' has no reference to time. With us, change in time is value, and place in a developmental sequence is necessary for evaluation. Being is evaluated discretely, in terms of itself alone, not in comparison with others. ....To be, an object must be true to itself, not in terms of its relationship with other beings.

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[1] Ibid., p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 9, footnote.

> To be good, it must be the same always. Sameness is a value to the Trobrianders.[1]

The focus of the Dakota's value structure is on the present, not on the future. To be a good it must be present. The children are not disciplined so they will grow up to be good men and women. Since they are a part of the society and the cultural order, they are good. Goodness is neither an end or a means; it is present reality. Actions are not good because of future consequences, but rather, as in and of themselves, they now conform to a permanent pattern.

Thus the mythical time perspective produces a value structure in which the principle of being rather than of becoming is central; a principle that has no way of adjusting to change.

It has been suggested that the value structure of the culture is related to its reality system through the time perspective. It has also been observed that the mythical time perspective is directly related to the 'being oriented' value structure. If it can be shown that the mythical time perspective is also related to the Dakota concept of time, then the culture's reality system will be seen to be structurally joined to the value system and as such will be an important cultural factor in the endurance of the Dakota's concept of time.

It is in terms of the mythical time perspective that the Dakota concept of 'measureless' time can be best understood. The mythical time perspective does not admit of a measured past as is found in Western culture's chronological history for this would have separated them from

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[1] Dorothy Lee, "Being and Value," Primitive Heritage, Mead and Calas eds., pp. 55-56.

that which was the present essence of their way of life. Their myths were not merely instruments to teach each succeeding generation the values and meanings of the culture, but through them they were brought into face to face contact with them. The past was brought into the presence of the present. A system of recorded history would also break the unity which bound all generations of the Dakota together. In the mythical characters of his past the Dakota found that with which he could identify himself and through which he could identify himself with his people who had passed on. It furthermore assured him of this continued identification so that the solidarity of his life relationships could never be broken.

Therefore, so long as the mythical time perspective continued the Dakota would not be able to develop an objective concept of measured time for it was upon the principle of this perspective that his values and definitions of reality were formed. To the person of Western culture Dakota mythology is no more than moral-teaching fiction. To the Dakota they were real and they were truth because of the unity of the past and future with the present. They reliably defined reality because they were tied to the present-- that which is, <u>is</u>.

The Psychological Premise of the Culture Pattern

In the previous section of this chapter the role has been observed which the culture pattern itself plays in the survival of the Dakota concept of time. The pattern was observed to have been shaped by the time perspective of the culture, and as such, presents a structural obstruction to any simple change in the concept of time.

In terms of the physical world a perspective is a position from which the object of attention is viewed. By analogy we may consider a time perspective the position or premise from which reality is viewed. If this premise could be shifted or were easily subject to change, the whole perspective, and with it the concept of time, would also be subject to change. Therefore, it is reasoned that in this basic time premise of the culture must also be found some factor resisting change. This possibility is further suggested by the fact that premises are not of empirical origin, but rather are the accepted assumptions upon which the definitions and explanations of human experience are built. A premise is a matter of decision or act of the will; however, it is reached in a social context. The premise is so implicit in the culture and the individual is so identified with the group that he does not have occasion to analyze or become conscious of the volitional relationship which he bears to it.

It is an hypothesis of this study that in a culture's position regarding the problem of death is found the basic time premise of that culture. Death is a universal human experience. Every individual's past is in some way touched by the loss of loved ones or friends. This is either a matter of memory or communication with others. Death is also a fact of the future, involving both friends and relatives as well as the individual himself. As such, death becomes a problem of time perspective to all peoples.

Since man is unable to avoid the experience of death he can only take some position toward or regarding its inevitability. The position which is taken must be one involving a time perspective. Either his

perspective will attempt to avoid death by making its limits short of it, or, by some device attempt to circumvent and reach beyond its limitation, or, as shall be shown, deny its reality. Since the position which is taken relative to death is thus the position of a time perspective, it becomes a premise that is basic to the structure of the culture; it is a foundation stone in the definitions of reality and in the systems of value. Feibleman observes:

> The degree of sentience among human beings is the degree to which they are able to suffer acutely from a knowledge of their limitations. Youth is a sober period because it is in youth that we devote so much time to recovering from the shock which the knowledge of our inevitable mortality first thrusts upon us. The fear of the Lord may be the beginning of wisdom, but it is the fear of death which is the beginning of human culture.[1]

Feibleman lists inquiry as a fundamental human drive and defines it as the search for greater participating in being. Death is then an obstacle with which this drive is confronted, and culture is a resulting product. "It is a tribute to the social nature of the individual that the beliefs, and even the activities, of both primitive and civilised man, which are prompted by the psychic pain of thoughts about infinity are enshrined in social rather than individual forms."[2]

The relation of the problem of death to time perspective and to culture may be approached in still another manner. As Green observes, "Only man lives outside of as well as in the present, so that only man has the foreknowledge of his own death." This he has because he is

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[1] James Feibleman, The Theory of Human Culture, p. 190.

[2] Ibid., p. 191.

able to symbolize -- and apart from symbolization or language there can be no culture. Not only can man name concrete objects but also he is able to create a world of symbolized representations that are not perceived by the senses. He is thus enabled to construct a world of symbolized reality as he interprets the past and the future. In doing so, death becomes a fundamental problem which involves the entire time perspective.

The position of civilization regarding mortality is described by Feiblemun:

> Civilized man is able to place so many artifacts between himself and environing non-human nature that he is sometimes able comfortably to forget that everything comes to an end in finite time, even the glory of buildings and of nations and of social groups, as well as of individuals. The inhabitant of the great modern city spends so much of his time earning a living in office buildings, feeding and breeding in apartment buildings, and traveling between the two in subways and elevated railroads, that the accident of death seems to be taken care of by the quixotically named institution of life insurance. Death benefits and not deaths mark the demise of the human victims of the artifacts. Thus it is that civilized man is able to place obstacles between his mortal self and the vast environing world, and to anesthetize himself with tedious and time-occupying activities against the pain of psychic thoughts about infinity in cultural beginnings and endings.[1]

The premise of civilization thus gives to the individual a perspective that is short of death and seeks to by-pass it only in the sense of participation in a society to whose endurance he may contribute. The premise of civilization accepts the reality of death and builds a limited time perspective that first avoids it and second, circumvents this reality by identifying the individual with the religious-political society whose recorded history of measured time continues on.

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[1] Ibid., p. 190.

The position of a mythical culture regarding death is observed to be one of direct denial.

> The feeling of the indestructible unity of life is so strong and unshakable as to deny and to defy the fact of death. ....there is a striking difference between the mythical belief in immortality and all the later forms of a pure philosophical belief. If we read Plato's Phaedo we feel the whole effort of philosophical thought to give clear and irrefutable proof of the immortality of the human soul. In mythical thought the case is quite different. Here the burden of proof always lies on the opposite side. If anything is in need of proof it is not the fact of immortality but the fact of death. And myth and primitive religion never admit these proofs. They emphatically deny the very possibility of death. In a certain sense the whole of mythical thought may be interpreted as a constant and obstinate negation of the phenomenon of death.[1]

That this cultural premise regarding death was true of the Dakota is evidenced from the records of early observers who witnessed their mourning behavior:

> A few words are addressed to the spirit of the departed and all present burst into a flood of tears and wailing. The character of the address is for the spirit to remain in his own place, and not to disturb his friends and relatives; and promises are made on the part of the mourners to be faithful in keeping their laws and customs in making feasts for the departed spirits.[2]

> If the infant dies in the time that is allotted to it to be carried in this cradle, it is buried and the disconsolate mother fills the cradle with black quills and feathers, in the parts which the child's body had occupied, and in this way carries it around with her wherever she goes for a year or more, with as much care as if her infant were alive and in it; and she often lays or stands it leaning against the side of the wigwam, where she is all day engaged in her needle work, and chatting and talking to it as familiarly and

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[1] Cassirer, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

[2] Schoolcraft, op. cit., p. 65.

affectionately as if it were her loved infant, instead of its shell, that she was talking to.[1]

The first rite of the Oglalas as given by Black Elk to Joseph Epes Brown was that of the 'keeping of the soul.' The story of its origin as told by Black Elk also confirms the mythical premise of this Dakota tribe relative to death. "This boy seems to be dead, yet he is not really, for we shall keep his soul among our people, and through this our children and the children of their children will become wakan. Behold O Soul! where you dwell upon this earth will be a sacred place; this center will cause the people to be wakan as you are."[2] After making certain prayers and ceremonies Hollow Horn, the mythical innovator, is reported as saying to the father of the dead boy, "You are now keeping the soul of your own son, who is not dead, but is with you. From now on you must live in a sacred manner, for your son will be in this tipi until his soul is released."[3]

It is on this time premise which denies the reality of death that is founded the mythical time perspective of the Dakota, which in turn has been shown is a structuring principle of their values and their concept of time. The possibility that a concept of time could determine the attitude toward death must be ruled out because, as has been shown, the Dakota concept of time is subjective and as such is not a direct response

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[1] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians, Vol. II, p. 133.

[2] Brown, op. cit., p. 11.

[3] Ibid., p. 14.

to time as an objective proposition. Being subjective, it is the residue of some other more objective act. On the other hand, death is a proposition by which men are universally faced and moved. Cassirer observes, "Fear of death is undoubtedly one of the most general and most deeply rooted human instincts."[1] The response to the problem of death cannot be one based on experience, rather it must be a premise volitionally accepted. Since the time aspects of culture are based upon a premise not subject to empirical testing and since they are rooted in a volitional act relative to the psychologically dynamic problem of death, it is reasonable to expect that the mere association or contact with another culture would not result in a people easily giving up their 'point of view' or time premise from which their whole way of life has developed. The Dakota position of the denial of death provides or makes possible an unlimited time perspective in which only the present can occupy the focus of importance. The spacial analogy would be that of a ship on a boundless sea. The only place of locational significance is that of the ship itself; so in time the moment of significance is the present.

From the observations of this chapter it may be concluded that the Dakota concept of time is firmly rooted and rigidly fixed in the psychological premises and in the structure pattern of the culture; in the organization of the society and in the personality structure of its members.

CHAPTER V

DAKOTA CULTURE AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION AT THE TIME CROSSROADS

After more than a century of contact the Dakota Indian remains a puzzle and a problem to his white conquerors and would-be benefactors. Indian Bureau employees in the presence of the author frankly admitted that they did not know the answer. Some assimilated Indians expressed the problem this way, "The Sioux themselves do not know what they want."

There are those who advocate programs which are designed to preserve the old culture; others believe that each culture has much by which the other may benefit, and that if given time through a continued program of government patronage, they will blend in a desirable adjustment; still others are convinced that the only hope for the Dakota is a complete break with their cultural past—to have to stand on their own feet—their programs are designed to accomplish this in the shortest possible time.

It is not the design of this study to propound or to espouse a program of solution. It is devoted rather to a clearer understanding of the problem itself and the social and cultural forces which are involved.

In this chapter the problem of culture conflict shall be studied in terms of the conflicting meanings of time and the diverse cultures which are their matrix. The meeting of these cultures will be studied under three headings: (1) The Point of No Return; (2) The Point of No Contact; (3) The Point of Three Alternatives.

The Point of No Return

History records the experience of many nonliterate mythical cultures whose way of life has stood in the way of a spreading civilization. Some have been overrun by it; others have been swallowed by it; but none have survived over a long period of time.

Linton observes how the nonliterate Mongols came down and overran China with its state ordered civilized society. Yet, "within three generations the Mongols had adopted Chinese administrative patterns as a whole and had become merely another Chinese dynasty."[1] It is more frequent however, that the civilized state with its greater political and military power has overrun the smaller familial societies. The Roman Empire in its expansion subdued the barbarian tribes which it conquered; in its decay it swallowed those by whom it was overrun. The cultural order which prevailed in each case was that of civilization. These historical examples, chosen from among many, suggest that irrespective of military victory or defeat there is a character of ultimate prevailingness in the very nature of civilizational culture. In fact, Kroeber postulates this principle relative to Dakota-White American contacts. "Native Sioux buffalo-hunting culture would almost certainly be as essentially disintegrated by now as it actually is, even if the Sioux had by some miracle conquered us; and American culture would perhaps have been modified in minor respects."[2]

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[1] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, p. 245.

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 430.

The present Dakota culture may be understood in the figure of broken pieces of a brittle vessel. The closely woven social organization with its fusion of institutional life is more brittle than it is pliable. The horse and the gun could be adopted without any real change in the culture pattern. Dakota culture was equipped to preserve itself in contact with similar plains Indian cultures. But contact with a state ordered society of a culture possessing values and concepts of change was different. "It cannot bend to the strength of the passing tornado and spring back to something approaching its original position. Instead it breaks."[1] Embree's observation that, "Indians today are a scattered and a broken people"[2] is true of the Dakota.

The Dakota Indians have not only been confronted with the overpowering force of American Military and political might but are also met with a dominant manner of thinking and living. Some of its fruits they enjoy. They ride in automobiles whose motors will not operate unless properly 'timed.' They have attended the schools and churches of Western society which operate on a schedule of time measurement. Today Dakota culture persists, but only in broken pieces. The tiyospaye or extended family circle is badly shaken, but the relationship principle and ties continue in many adapted forms. The religious institutions of the Dakota were not distinct from their social and economic life. This unity of the institutional life is broken, but its meanings continue even among many

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[1] Feibleman, op. cit., p. 206.

[2] Edwin R. Embree, Indians of the Americas, p. 235.

who are baptized members of Christian churches. The culture is broken, but it continues in its broken pieces; pieces that are as brittle and resistant to change as the original vessel. However, the pieces do not have what it takes to put themselves back together again. This would require a time concept of change, of construction, of becoming; the broken pieces have inherited from the original culture its perspective of being and its resistance to change.

The Dakota cannot walk back over the road of his contact with Western civilization. In the past one hundred years many of the Dakotas have become literate. They have developed a history. Brief and heart breaking though it may be, it also has its elements of justifiable pride. But history, that invention of a literate, time measuring culture, does not turn back -- though the overwhelming power of nonliterate peoples may almost force it to stand still as in the European Dark Ages. It is impossible to turn the clock back; time, civilization's concept of time, must move and that movement must be forward. The Dakota at the time crossroads is at the point of no return.

The Point of No Contact

The Dakota Indian at the time crossroads is at the place of social contact without cultural contact. That is, he is compelled by his dependent economic situation within a social order that has encompassed him, to have dealings with those whose cultural differences keep him from truly getting in touch with them. This may be observed in the two very practical areas of motivation and coordinated activities.

Motivation. Motivation is a universal problem of those working among the Indians. One said somewhat disparingly, "How can you help them when they don't want to be helped?" The government may provide a Dakota with enough capital or cattle to start up in business or ranching, but that does not guarantee that he will. Or if he does, that he will continue in it. A resident on the Pine Ridge, himself a quarter-blood, told of an Indian there who had received a large sum of money. With this money he had bought new a complete line of farm equipment. After using that equipment to put in a very small acreage of wheat, he left the tractor in freezing weather with the radiator filled with water while he went to town on an extended drunk. Subsequent to this he traded the whole line of equipment for a second hand car, which in turn was soon junked. The problem of motivation stated in a practical manner is, "What makes an Indian do this?" Indian workers are often frustrated in their efforts to motivate the Indian to work, to save, to plan or assume responsibility for his future, to adopt health practices, and many other things which seem so obviously to be for his own good.

Motivation though is a function of the culture pattern. It was stated in Chapter IV that the dynamics of motivation are found in the value structure and the mechanics are found in the reality or conceptual definitions. It puzzles the person of Western culture when his values do not motivate a person of Indian culture. He does not realize that his values are just as puzzling to the Indian. It is very difficult to evaluate one's own values. It probably is as difficult for the white man as it is for the Indian. A simple narrative reported by Slotkin will

illustrate well this principle of the inability of the values of one culture to motivate a person of a culture whose values are different.

> An eastern go-getter spied a lazy Indian chief lolling indolently at the door of his teepee somewhere out west.
> "Chief," remonstrated the go-getter, "why don't you get yourself a job?"
> "Why?" grunted the chief.
> "Well, you could earn a lot of money. Maybe 30 or 40 dollars a week."
> "Why?" insisted the chief.
> "Oh, if you worked hard and saved your money, you'd soon have a bank account. Wouldn't you like that?"
> "Why?" again asked the chief.
> "For ____ sakes!" shouted the exasperated go-getter. "With a big bank account you could retire, and then you wouldn't have to work any more. ...."
> "Not working now," pointed out the Indian.[1]

It must be admitted that the chief had a point. The values of each may have their points of irrationality; however, the story does illustrate the future emphasis of civilization's values and the present emphasis of Dakota values.

While the dynamics of motivation are found in the values of the culture, the mechanics are in its definitions of reality. What is not real cannot be valued, and what is valued can be valued only in the sense in which it is defined. Thus, time is valued but only in the sense in which the culture defines it. The mechanics of motivation may be seen in observing Dakota life today.

> They like their rodeos to last a long time. They protract the events that are an afternoon's entertainment at an ordinary rodeo into a three-day session. They are never in a hurry.

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[1]Slotkin, op. cit., p. 62.

> Doing things the slow way carries over in all their planning and work. One man on the reservation has been building a single-room log cabin for three years. Time[1] does not bother the Indian.[2]

Early experiences with the Indians consisted of prohibiting them from doing what they wanted to do. ".... suspression of the Sun Dance was only one step in directing the Indians away from their pagan and uncivilized ways. Break up of camp life and the family groups of tepees, the undermining of the authority of the chiefs, and the placement of the children in schools followed in quick succession."[3] However, these measures did not motivate the Indians in the direction of the white man's designs for it did not give them a foundation for new values. The unhappy experiences which followed only justified the Red Man in his rejection of white ways.

Much planning and effort have gone into programs designed to help the Dakota meet their needs and to become self responsible, self supporting citizens of the United States. Macgregor summarizes these efforts in one sentence: "Three aspects of the dramatic change from Indian to white culture which followed are important to note: first, the suppression of Indian custom and authority; second, the education of the children in the techniques of white life; and, third, Agency and other white pressures upon the adults to adopt white ways of making a livelihood."[4]

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[1] As defined in Western culture.

[2] Ruby, op. cit., p. 27.

[3] Gordon Macgregor, Warriors Without Weapons, pp. 32, 33.

[4] Ibid., p. 35.

From 1900 to 1917 much progress was made by the Indians toward self-sufficiency by maintaining tribal herds of cattle. They were able to fit this kind of sustenance into their way of life. However, with World War I and high cattle prices and the influence of white interests which had no concern for their welfare, the Indians sold most of their cattle and leased their lands to white operators. The money received from these sales and leases soon passed through the Indians' hands. When the depression followed and the demand and price for leased land fell off, the Dakotas found themselves again almost totally dependent upon the government.

Every program that has been or is being tried has been confronted with the problem of motivation. Abolishment of the Sun Dance, the tiyospaye or extended family that lived side by side in the camp circle, and the buffalo hunt did not motivate them to take on white ways. The school teachers often found their incentive rewards working in reverse for a Dakota child would not express something which he knew in the presence of another who had not been able to answer the question. In this and many other ways the things which moved the Dakota to act were foreign to their white would-be motivators. This problem still remains. It was hoped that if the Dakota could receive industrial jobs they would be able to make an adjustment to white culture. Hence, a relocation program has been set up whereby those who qualify and who desire to leave the reservation are channeled into some of the large industrial centers. However, according to reports by an extension worker and a mission superintendent on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations respectively, at least

seventy-five per cent of these return.

It is paradoxical but obvious that culture clash is also culture chaos--in the realm of motivation the two do not make contact. Motivation is a matter of individual initiative, but it operates within a framework of the culture's value and conceptual structures. These operate according to the time perspectives and time premises upon which they are founded.

Coordinated Activities. Closely associated with the hiatus in cultural motivation is the absence of any means of coordination of activity. Time, as has been shown, is an important factor in the problem of incentive to action. It is also a factor in the coordination of activity. Rigid time schedules are set up to coordinate the work of a small or large number of individuals. An assembly line or a construction crew must have every man in his place in order to function. This necessitates a time schedule of arrival and presence on the job, and also definite rates of performance. A business establishment must have a time schedule of operation that meshes with the activities of its surrounding society. Even the farmer must have a schedule regarding the time of operation and the time needed to be devoted to various activities. His money and material needs must be synchronized with times of production and times of harvest. In this area the two cultures do not meet. According to those who live on the reservation, clocks and calendars are absent from many of the Indian homes though some have them. The activity toward which their value structure motivates them does not require the rule of the clock and calendar. Therefore, some Indians who accept jobs to meet immediate needs seem to their employers to be erratic and unreliable; it is not known when they

will appear and when they will not, or what may induce them not to return.

The time crossroads of these two cultures are found to be the crossroads of no contact—they do not meet, and since they do not meet they cannot mesh.

The Point of Three Alternatives

Observations made in field research show a wide range of Dakota response to contact with civilization. Change has been and is taking place. The nature of this change ranges from ways to adapt Western traits into Dakota culture to assimilation into White-American society.

> As one remains in the reservation communities, he becomes aware of a great variety in Indian habits and ways of living and also in Indian personalities. He will see that between the light mixed-blood rancher on his profitable cattle ranch and the full-blood in his cabin, living by government rations and a little work, there are extremes of behavior and outlook that make them appear to belong to two different worlds.
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> The cultural position of the majority of the Pine Ridge Indians lies between the two extremes of the white-assimilated mixed-bloods and the unassimilated full-bloods who live in the shadow of their former Indian culture. .... These are divisions based on being "full-blood" or "mixed-blood," which, it is important to remember, are actually sociological rather than biological groups, standing primarily for the way of living according to Indian or white patterns rather than the actual degree of Indian blood.
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> In spite of the predominance of intermixture with white, more than half of the Pine Ridge Indian population belong to the sociological full-blood group. They maintain a similar level of living on a very low average income, adhere to a number of Dakota customs, have a common set of attitudes (at least by generation), and usually talk among themselves in their Teton-Dakota dialect.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 23, 25, 26.

Out of this wide range of the social results of culture contact at least three distinct areas may be analyzed according to the possible alternate responses which are outlined by the cultural time implications of this study. A consideration of the avenues which the Indian has found open to him at the crossroads with civilization shall occupy the remainder of this chapter.

The Road Around. Those who seek the road around are the sociological full-bloods who seek to avoid the white way of life. To them "the necessity for the Indians to live much as whites do is still unreal, or at least to be avoided. .... despite their surface acquiescence, unwillingness to accept modern life and cultural change and the fantasy of an eventual return of the former Indian life are still common to the thinking of many Dakota."[1]

The road around is a way of preserving the essential meaning of the old culture though many of the old practices are lost and many white articles and ways have necessarily been adopted. It is in this phase of human behavior that culture is seen to consist primarily in meanings rather than in specific articles or products.

Culture may be approached in three related areas: man's adjustment to his universe of reality or religion, his adjustment to his fellowman or his social structure, and his adjustment to his natural environment or his means of subsistence. In all three of these realms Dakota culture has been able to find a way of self preservation despite many external

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[1] Ibid., p. 27.

and superficial changes. In the old culture pattern these three areas were closely bound together in one unit. Through the impact of Western culture they have been broken apart but each has carried with it the essence of the old culture.

Residents on the Pine Ridge Reservation with which the author has visited have said that the Dakotas are a very religious people. "It has been the great office of culture, and specifically of religion, to provide the major time perspective of conduct by insisting the relative dimensions of the immediate present as seen in the focus of eternity."[1] If the culture is to continue the religion with its time perspective must find a way to continue.

The religion of the Dakota was hit hard by white decrees. In 1881 the Sun Dance was prohibited. Indian Service regulations have banned the practices of the Medicine man, yet some of this practice still survives. Macgregor reports that, "Since the coming of the first missionaries among the Teton-Dakota sixty years ago, the resistance or indifference to Christianity has passed, and all the Pine Ridge Indians profess belief in Christianity and nominal membership in some church."[2] But for many this has been a way around. "Many Indians today belong to one or another of the denominational Christian churches. But there are few who take their religion seriously enough to abandon their old beliefs."[3] Thus,

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[1] Frank, op. cit., p. 345.

[2] Macgregor, op. cit., p. 93.

[3] Ruby, op. cit., p. 16.

the Dakota Indian has been able to find within the framework of formal Christianity a shelter for the continuance of native time perspectives and the means for preserving the essence of his culture. "... much of the significance which Christianity holds has come from its interpretation by the Dakota in terms of their former religion. Similarly the church organizations have become significant as they have supplied a center around which band organization and integration could continue."[1] Macgregor describes the Dakota's acceptance of Christianity in such a manner as to show how it became a means of the continuance of the old culture.

> Their acceptance of Christianity was first and continues to be to some extent today an acceptance of the deity of their conquerors and a search for his power, without complete abandonment of the old beliefs. As one early convert stated; "I found that their .... Wakan Tanka the superior .... and have served Wakan Tanka according to the white people's manner and with all my power. I still have my wasicun (ceremonial pouch or a bundle of a shaman), and I am afraid to offend it because the spirit of an Oglala may go to the spirit land of the Dakota." The Christian God was identified somewhat with the Dakota supernatural power through the missionary's practice of calling God "Wakan Tanka."
>
> The Dakota also interpreted some church practices in their own fashion to fit with the values of the old religion. For example, putting money into the collection plate on Sundays is still used as a means of giving honor to another person and gaining prestige for generosity in the native give-away pattern. An offering is made with as many small coins as possible, each given separately in order to increase the appearance of one's generosity.[2]

The continuing function of the old religion within a framework of formal Christianity is emphasized by the continuing attitude and practice

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[1] Macgregor, op. cit., p. 102.

[2] Ibid., p. 92.

regarding death. All of the old religious ceremonies have passed away with the exception of one. "These life-crisis ceremonies except those connected with death, have now been abandoned."[1] The wailing, four days of mourning, and the give-away after the burial and at the end of one year of mourning is still practiced. Widows, bereaved mothers and sisters are under social pressure to cut their hair short as soon as death occurs. A Christian minister is asked to conduct the services and the body is buried with a church ceremony but the give-away and final feast often take place at the church community house or in the churchyard.[2] The important role of the time premise and its relationship to death as observed in this study is seen to be continued and to function by an adaptation to a form of Christianity. It is a part of the road around.

Many of the Dakotas have turned from Christianity as such to develop a hybrid religion which is officially called the Native American Church, and which is more popularly known as the 'peyote cult.' Here Christian form and terminology has been combined with native ritual plus the eating of the peyote bean to provide the Indian culture another system around the time crossroads. According to Dr. Ruby who witnessed a worship service, "The peyote symbolizes Christ's body, which the cultists take into their own body. .... If vomiting should occur, it is interpreted as a purgation from sin."[3] The eating of the bean produces

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[1] Ibid., p. 96.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Ruby, op. cit., p. 54.

a dream world of the supernatural in which is seen colored patterns and figures. This influence is held by some to be that of the Holy Spirit. Dr. Ruby further observes regarding the effects of eating the bean that, "Time is of no essence." As such it is a return to the undisturbed reality of the old culture pattern and is a release from the strain of contact with white culture.

Alfred Wilson was a late leader of the Native American Church. D'Arcy McNickle relates the following from a conversation held with Wilson.

> "The Indian, he said, stresses the importance of 'I am.' By this he meant that the individual is a manifestation of the breath or energy of God. ....
>
> "Indians do not speak of the beginning as Christians do. They know nothing of the beginning, nor will they say that there is an ending. It is here."[1]

Built into this philosophy of the peyote group is the old Dakota eternal-time perspective, and hence, this religion is an avenue for the continuance of the culture's value structure and its concepts.

The Yuwipi cult represents the last vestiges of unmixed Dakota religion. "Although it is doubtful that more than a small minority of the people today make a practice of attending Yuwipi meetings, this native cult will probably continue for a long time.... The hold which the past has on most of the people adds its effect also to the preservation of native religion."[2] And conversely, the native religion is a means by

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[1] John Collier, Indians of the Americas, pp. 240, 241.

[2] Macgregor, op. cit., p. 103.

which the essence of the old culture is preserved.

This study has observed how that the time perspective and concepts are related to the social organization, and also how that through the socialization of the individual within the social order of the group the values and concept of time is passed from generation to generation. In the area of social organization adjustments have been made which have preserved the essence of the old culture with its definitions of reality, including that of time. The social organization of the Dakota consisted chiefly in an extended family order called the tiyospaye. As Miss Deloria says, "This Dakota word is essential in describing tribal life. It denotes a group of families, bound together by blood and marriage ties, that live side by side in the camp-circle."[1] This social unit was controlled by a clearly defined set of respect relationships which were learned early in the process of socialization. "....every child must remember to use the proper kinship term for each person, and feel properly toward him, and behave in the conventionally correct way, all simultaneously."[2]

The breaking up of this social order of the Dakota was a part of the plan to get them to abandon their old ways and to take the road of civilization. After submitting to reservation life the tribes soon broke up into bands. Homes were built for band chiefs and ration-issue stations were established in different parts of the reservation. The bands also

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[1] Deloria, op. cit., p. 40.

[2] Ibid., p. 43.

broke up as individual families built homes along the creeks. However, when a family increased, one of the older men would take his family together with those of his brothers' and sisters' down the creek or to another creek and there start a new community. This is the process by which bands were formed in the former society. Thus, most of the communities on the reservation today are derived from the original bands.[1]

While the old tiyospaye organized social units no longer exist, they form the foundation for a new social order that carries the old relationship emphasis with its associated cultural practices and values. As such these present day rural communities are a social order which preserves the premises, perspectives and definitions of the former Dakota culture.

In the economic area of this broken cultural life the Dakota has also found a way to preserve his time perspective. The institutions of subsistence in the old Dakota culture were not distinct from the social and religious. The buffalo was an important source of food and also the central character of the mythology. Religion and subsistence were closely bound together in a 'present' focused time perspective. Through the institution of the give-away the economic order was an essential part of the whole social order based on relationship. The Dakota lived by an an active dependence upon the provisions of his environment. He did so, not as an individual, but as a group. It was in the group that he found his security. It was as a Dakota that the death denying promise of his

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[1] MacGregor, op. cit., pp. 37, 66.

religion was formed and was effective. It was as a relative in a Dakota society that he knew how to act toward others and what to expect of others. And thus his economic security was found in the group as a whole. Being a good relative was all that was needed to be economically secure, therefore, kinsmanship of relatives was far more important than the ownership of goods. "The formal give-away was a beneficial Dakota institution. .... a man who failed to participate in the giving customs was a suspicious character, something less than a human being."[1]

The present focused time perspective governed the Dakota economic life also. The Dakota as a group prepared for the immediate future in that buffalo meat was either dried or made into pemican so that it would keep. Berries and rice were gathered and stored. However, if there was a good supply of food on hand, they ate well; if not, they merely adjusted the number of meals and amount eaten to the available provisions.

With the destruction of the buffalo and confinement to the reservation the nomadic buffalo economy came to an end. No longer could they as a group be dependent upon nature about them. However, this dependence was transferred to the power which had taken their former provisions from them, the United States Government. It was by this means that the essence of the former economic cultural order was enabled to survive. Money received from the government is held to be a matter of provisions rightfully belonging to the group as a whole. As such, it is to be shared with any other Dakota in need. This factor in the economic road around the

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[1] Deloria, op. cit., p. 68.

crossroads is seen in many efforts to help the Indians to become individually self sufficient. A program of cooperative gardens was attempted on the Pine Ridge Reservation at Kyle. This program was reported by observers there to have been a failure. Only a few came to do the work, but everyone was there to claim their share in the harvest. In the old culture the 'present' time emphasis with its dependence upon nature provided a motivation to group conformity and reliance, but it did not provide the incentive for individual effort and personal responsibility. The perspective of the culture which produced a pattern of sharing is not one that says, "Unless I work I will not have in order that I may give," or "I must work in order that I may have to give." This is a time emphasis on the future. The perspective of the Dakota says, "My little children, it is better to give and have nothing left, if need be, than to appear stingy. Property always flows back in due time to those who let it flow freely forth. In the endless process of giving, that is bound to be so."[1] The feeling is that if the United States Government had not taken from them the supply of nature, they would have plenty, but the 'Great White Father' in Washington must now take the place of 'Mother and Grandmother Earth.' So long as this means is available the old cultural economic order can function. Giving in order to have is the foundation of security rather than working or having in order to give.

But this philosophy does not operate when the individual assumes the responsibility for his own livelihood. In fact, in the Dakota way of thinking the only responsibility is found in giving, not in individual

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[1] Ibid., p. 69.

effort. It is only when as a group or because of membership in the group there is a present source of provision that the give-away economic philosophy can operate.

To sum up in brief, the Dakota has found the road around or means of preserving his essential cultural definitions, in a formal Christianity, in the peyote cult, in the Yuwipi group; in the relative grouping in rural areas of the reservation; and in the patronage policy of the United States Government. Through these avenues the death-denying time premise with the resulting time perspective of the culture has been preserved in the minds of succeeding generations. As a result, this framework perpetuates the values and concepts of the original Dakota culture which includes the Dakota concept of 'eternal time.'

The Road to Anomie. Anomie is a French word first used by Durkheim as a concept of normlessness or disorganization. It was further developed in America by Robert K. Merton and Robert M. MacIver. Anomie is to be distinguished from the lawlessness of many criminals who have codes of conduct of their own and who also share many of the rules of the society against which some of their behavior is directed. Anomie may be defined as a breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society, and hence the loss of its norms governing conduct. When this takes place among a large number, society itself becomes normless and disorganized or is in a state of anomie. Merton used the term anomie to analyze and describe the normlessness and social disorder which results when there is a discrepancy between culturally defined ends or goals and the culturally provided and approved institutions or means to obtain these goals.

As such, anomie could not be conceived of in the familial highly integrated social order of the Dakota, for the individual was not presented with a future oriented means-end value structure. In its place was a present pattern of perfection. Within this pattern the culturally defined values were present attainments and enjoyments. "Anomy[1] is a disease of the civilized, not of the simpler peoples. As Durkeim pointed out, one index of anomy is the number of suicides, and suicide is much more frequent among the civilized."[2]

MacIver employs the concept of anomie in describing the personal and social disorganization which results when the cultural differences between the societies of civilization come into conflict. It is particularly a situation which develops when the cultural means and/or ends of an immigrant group conflict with those of their environing society. In the transition the second generation loses or repudiates the values of its own group and not being accepted into the environing group, nor having the childhood socializing experiences, finds itself floundering without the social control of the values and concepts of either society. Usually the immigrant, because of discrimination, must live in a rather disorganized, undesirable area; or he must seek residence in an area of immigrants of similar origin. "Judged by the incidence of juvenile delinquency the racial colony or ghetto apparently provides a more wholesome

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[1] An anglicized spelling of anomie which MacIver uses.

[2] Robert M. MacIver, "Descent to Anomy," Outside Readings in Sociology, p. 785.

atmosphere for rearing the second generation than the neighboring culturally non-descript residential area."[1] The concept of cultural anomie explains this situation. The second generation child in the non-descript cultural area, because of contact with those who ridicule his ways, turns from the norms of his own culture without being able to learn or be controlled by those of another. In the ghetto the child's cultural differences are preserved, so also are his values and social controls.

If anomie describes the result of culture conflict between societies of civilization, it applies even more to that between Dakota culture and Western civilization. This study has developed the foundational relation which exists between the time premise and time perspective of a culture and the nature of its values and concepts. The conflict of the values and concepts of these two cultures may be analyzed and explained in terms of the time implications. The resulting cultural anomie will be observed to be the result of losing or abandoning the time premise and time perspective of the old culture without their being supplanted by those of Western civilization.

Many of the Dakotas in contact with white civilization have not been able to retain the old cultural premises and time perspective. The value and conceptual structure of the former culture is no longer a basis for social control among them. On the other hand, they have not been able to bridge the gap between Dakota cultural order and that of Western civilization; they have not been able to find a way across. They are the

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[1] Thorsten Sellin, Culture Conflict and Crime, p. 91.

sociological mixed-bloods or 'breeds' who are marginal people, caught between two cultures; the victims of culture disorganization.

The Indian who has been able to preserve his old cultural order, though his ways may be a conundrum to the white, has retained his own social controls and the ordered integration of his personality and personal behavior. Furthermore, the consensus of observers is that he is relatively law abiding and trustworthy.

> "As one veteran Major said: "Give me the full-blood every time. He drinks less, tells the truth, has moral principles by which he stands, and a mind you can reason with. On the other hand the 'breed' has no such qualities, he is a trouble maker without morals or principles. He respects neither white nor red."[1]

Culture contact has disorganized the Indian in many ways. Rigid mores in the old culture preserved the chastity of Indian maidens. Today the rate of illegitimacy is high and is increasing among them. In interviews with Indian women Frank Lovrich was told, "at first the illegitimacy rate aroused us all; now we hardly notice or comment about it. .... no illegitimacy in the old way of living but much after being exposed to the white man."[2] The nature of Indian-white contacts is no doubt a factor in their disorganization. "During the Congress survey some superintendents stated that the mixed-bloods are more delinquent than the full-bloods; they pointed at the fact that outlaws from white society have for

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[1] Clark Wissler, Indian Calvalcade, p. 232. As quoted in Hans von Hentig, "The Delinquency of the American Indian," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXXVI (July--August 1945), p. 77, footnote.

[2] Frank Lovrich, "The Assimilation of the Indian in Rapid City," Masters Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of South Dakota, p. 21.

generations sought the safety of the frontier and mingled with the Indians."[1]

The disorganized quality of the mixed-blood child is recognized by full-blood children when thrown into contact with them under white supervision. "The full-bloods consider the mixed-bloods 'tricky,' 'liars,' and (surprising to whites) 'dirty.' Older full-blood girls, who are often neater and more poised in their manner, dislike rooming with mixed-bloods because they are unclean and rowdy."[2]

One example of the effectiveness of the social controls of the preserved cultural order is found in the 'peyote' group. Drunkenness predominates the picture of Dakota crime and social disorganization.[3] However, members of the 'peyote' cult have been able to successfully resist the use of beverage alcohol and its disorganizing effect.[4]

Though not all crime among the Dakota can be attributed to the disintegration of the culture, yet its relatively high incidence can, on the basis of the fact that the crime rate is relatively low within the old cultural order. Though no studies are known to the author on the assimilated Indians, it is reasonable to believe that crime is also relatively low among those who have made a good adjustment to white ways and are accepted participants in white society. In the old culture,

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[1] Hans von Hentig, op. cit., p. 78.

[2] Macgregor, op. cit., p. 147.

[3] See Appendix II.

[4] Ruby, op. cit., p. 55.

"The protective rules affecting children together with the religious-like training and precept by the elders were so well established that delinquency of juveniles simply was not among the problems of the Sioux. The term had no meaning to them."[1] However, today the picture reflects tragic changes. "Reports of Indian courts on the South Dakota reservations, reports of Social Workers and School Principals and the reports of state institutions all confirm that delinquency among the Indians in South Dakota, in the sense that they are in conflict with the white man's code, is rising."[2] Much of the disorganization and anti-social conduct reflects the loss of cultural norms--a condition of anomie.

This study has observed how that the values of Western culture are produced on a principle of a time perspective in which individual behavior is motivated by the psychological relationships of future rewards and past experiences in which the measured passage of time is a factor. Different societies within civilization may develop a wide range of values within the structure of this principle which may conflict upon contact. On the other hand, the values of the Dakota culture are predicated on the principle of a time perspective in which past and future are not separated from the present by measured duration but assumed to it by a concept of eternal time. Behavior is thus motivated by conformity. Other familial cultures with a mythical time perspective have built their value structures on this principle and have developed specific

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[1] A Partial Review of the Indian Enrollment in the State Training School, Plankinton, South Dakota, January 1, 1953—December 31, 1954, p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

values which would differ from and conflict with that of the Dakota upon contact. However, it is in the conflict of these two kinds of cultural value structures that, more than any other, culture conflict produces anomie.

This situation may be theoretically shown in terms of losing one kind of time perspective without gaining another. For if the Indian should abandon his mythical time perspective in which his past and future is bound to the present, and fail to obtain a perspective in which a reasoned value structure relates his past and future to his present, he is left in a position where past and future are in no manner related to the present. It is quite possible that this condition should be mistaken for the mythical time perspective of the Dakota. In it only the present exists, but in a different way than in the old Dakota culture. It is a present cut off from past and future without the perspectives of either society. The individual is detached from society. He is a victim of cultural anomie.

Though MacIver wrote concerning the results of culture conflict between societies of civilization, his description of anomie will be seen to describe the theoretical results which have just been outlined. "The anomic man has become spiritually sterile, responsive only to himself, responsible to no one. .... He lives on the thin line of sensation between no future and no past."[1] The loss of the time perspective of the old culture without gaining that of Western culture leaves the Dakota

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[1] MacIver, op. cit., p. 782.

without the social control of a value system. ".... having lost the compass that points their course into the future, abandon themselves to the present, but a present emptied of significance. .... They live by the hour, seeking immediate gratification on whatever level it is available. .... It is their defense against the ghosts of perished values."[1] In contrast to the anomic person the Dakota, living under the values of the old culture, lives in the present but it is a present filled with significance.

Some conditions that tend toward anomie are loss of former environment, connections, social place, and economic support; also the social alienation of a persecution complex.[2] These conditions have been the common experience of the Dakota.

The avenues leading to anomie can only be suggested since no studies in this area are known to the author. If government provisions have been an economic support for the preservation of the old social order, its inadequacies must needs be a factor contributing toward anomie. Similarly, when people have been induced for some reason away from the rural reservation communities to town centers where there are more white contacts, a means of cultural preservation being lost, anomie would be expected to increase. Perhaps one of the greatest factors may be found in a divorcement from religious life since the time perspectives and values of either one culture or the other are perpetuated in it. Inner

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[1] Ibid., p. 783.

[2] Ibid., p. 784.

class association and intermarriage could be expected to contribute to this end. This leaves the Indian with that valueless outlook on life that says, "Let us eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die." Another factor is the number of broken homes, for in this type of situation the children lose the socializing experience of any culture and are thrown out upon life without any cultural roots.

According to von Hentig drunkenness is the most frequent Indian crime. To this other studies agree. "Drunkenness is a far commoner cause of arrests among Indians than for any other racial group. The problem of drunkenness is one of the most serious problems in the administration of Indian Affairs."[1] The statistical report of crime among the Indians in North and South Dakota shows that the pattern of drunkenness prevails among them.[2] Drunkenness and the previously observed rate of illegitimacy play predominant roles in the delinquent behavior of the Dakota. In a study made of sixty Indian youth at the South Dakota State Training School, an investigation of the family background revealed the commonly observed pattern. "In only eighteen cases were the parents married to each other and in only four of these was there any evidence of family stability. The others indicated excessive drinking on the part of one or both parents or extramarital relationships."[3] In the high rate of

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[1] Mabel A. Elliott, Crime in Modern Society, pp. 309, 310.

[2] Appendix II.

[3] A Partial Review, op. cit., p. 7.

drunkenness there is reflected a desire for an immediate (if only temporary) escape from an unpleasant and possibly confused reality. The incidence of sexual irregularity speaks of behavior based solely on the immediate gratification of the passions. This seems to take in no consideration of past family status or future complications and responsibilities. The immediate present character of this anti-social behavior so devoid of the values of either culture exhibits the anomie into which the marginal Dakota has fallen.

It appears that from the standpoint of civilization this brutal and tragic phase of culture contact takes place before—at least in the course of succeeding generations—the values and concepts of civilization can take root. Barnett's observation among the Tsimshian of the Northwest Coast apply also to the Dakota.

> Socially unadjusted or maladjusted, the suppressed and frustrated and those who have suffered a social displacement in their own society, more especially 'half-breeds,' widows, orphans, invalids, rebels, and chronic troublemakers have been in the vanguard of those accepting newly introduced patterns, rather than those persons of real eminence who have a vested interest in native institutions.[1]

While social and personal wreckage does not necessarily precede cultural reorganization, this has been an all too common experience of those who have found the road to anomie to be the only road beyond the time crossroads of cultures.

The Road to Assimilation. Many Dakota, though not a relatively large per cent, are well adjusted to white ways; they are accepted by white society and are as successful in their roles as are persons of white European

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[1] A. Irving Hallowell, Culture and Experience, p. 330.

descent. Some, as Macgregor has stated, are successful cattle ranchers. Others have excelled in the fields of learning and education. Some occupy responsible administrative positions either in work related to Indian affairs or in exclusively Western society. Still others are responsible leaders in various Christian denominations. It is these who have found the relatively untraveled road to assimilation. Assimilation is defined as the "process through which the immigrant or alien loses the modes of behavior previously acquired in another society and gradually takes on the ways of a new society."[1] As members of Western society assimilated Indians are motivated by its values and controlled by its norms. Its concepts define reality for them and within its framework they work out their personal adjustment to life and society.

In terms of the theoretical framework of this study those who have found the road to assimilation have abandoned the time premise of Dakota culture and its mythical time perspective. They have accepted the time premise of civilization and its time perspective. They have had the opportunity of socializing experience in Western society through which its specific values and concepts are learned.

These have not taken the avenues around the cultural crossroads. Christianity has not been for them a means of perpetuation of the essence of the old culture; rather it has been a tie with middle class American society. Their religious participation has been more often in churches predominately White-American in membership rather than in the all Indian

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[1] Wilson and Kolb, op. cit., p. 686.

churches of the reservation. Few, if any, of the assimilated Indians could be expected to be found among the 'peyote' and Yuwipi groups.

If the assimilated Dakota has received funds from the government by virtue of his Indian registration, it has been to capitalize upon it towards some private enterprise.

The social life of the assimilated Indian is not bound by the family groups of the rural reservation community. He either lives in a typical White-American home in an urban community, on his isolated farmstead or ranch home, or wherever his business obligations may take him. He does not occupy a place in the disorganized sections of Indian life around the agencies, town centers, or the large cities.

It must be emphasized that the distance from Dakota culture to Western civilization is a big step to take, at least in one generation. In the few cases known to the author, the factors leading to assimilation are factors which span generations. These cases show that in the childhood experiences there was either the factor of a broken home or the presence of white influence through intermarriage, thus weakening the hold of the old culture in the early socializing experience of the child. This would also provide a possible break in the social ties of the community or the larger group. Another factor is that of early religious experience of such a nature as to vitally affect the way of life. To these childhood experiences there has been added the opportunity of contact and participation in white upper-class or middle-class society.

For the cultural time premise to be abandoned and a new one accepted within the life span of one individual involves an experience

that is nothing short of revolutionary. It means that the cultural premise regarding the problem of death, which has been accepted in the emotionally laden experiences of childhood within the intimate family circle, must be judged and rejected. It means that the whole organized world of reality and of values must be taken apart and the personality itself become rearranged on a different pattern. Charles Eastman describes his experience of becoming an assimilated Indian, but even as he does, there appear the shadows of former values preserved at least in the memory.

> As a child I understood how to give; I have forgotten that since I became civilized. I lived the natural life whereas I now live the artificial. Any pretty pebble was valuable to me then; every growing tree an object of reverence. Now I worship with the white man before a painted landscape whose value is estimated in dollars. Thus the Indian is reconstructed, as the natural rocks are ground to powder, and made into artificial blocks which may be built into the walls of modern society.[1]

The process of assimilation may be expected to take place more easily over the span of generations. When the time premise of the culture is for some reason lost to the socializing experience of a child, he is in a position to receive the premise and perspectives which may be presented to him. When there are factors which afford the child some opportunity of participation among those whose premises are that of Western culture, the individual's desire to identify himself with a group will lead him quite unconsciously to accept its premises, including the

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[1] Charles Alexander Eastman, The Soul of the Indian, p. 88.

time premise. He will then be provided the basis upon which the means-end values and the time concepts can be built in his continued association with the people of Western culture.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Contrary to popular opinion, Dakota culture does have a concept of time. The fact that it is not the same as that of Western culture and that it is subjective accounts for the misconception that "the Dakota has no concept of time."

Western civilization defines time objectively as temporal, measured duration; as such it is an economic good that can be saved, lost, bartered or gained. Time in Dakota culture is subjectively defined as eternal, unmeasured duration; a free good for which no concern is held.

These diverse concepts of time are the products of two different kinds of cultural order, having diverse value and conceptual structures. The structuralizing principle that distinguishes Dakota culture from Western civilization is found in its time perspective. The mythical time perspective of Dakota culture emphasizes the present and binds the past and future to it in one whole of eternal time. Value thus becomes a matter of being rather than becoming; time, of continuing within a permanent order. The historical time perspective of Western culture emphasizes the future, separating it and the past from the present so that time is segmented into measured units. Value here is a matter of means-end structure; of becoming rather than being. The relationship of position to perspective leads the investigation back of the culture's time perspective to what is the time premise. The time premise of a culture is the position which it takes relative to the universal problem

of death. Dakota culture denies its reality and hence has a perspective of eternal time and a concept of time as unmeasured duration. Western culture accepts the reality of death and hence its time perspective is one of beginnings and endings of measured duration, measured first in terms of a life time and second, in terms of the span of a particular historical society.

The diverse character of Western and Dakota culture as seen in the light of their time premise, perspective, and concept forbids their fusion or amalgamation.

Since the Dakota concept of time is an integral part of a cultural order, it may be expected to continue as long as that order continues. Since it is learned in the socializing experience of the individual and is based on a volitional position regarding the psychologically dynamic problem of death, the Dakota concept of time strongly resists change. The fact that the individual is not conscious of this resistance makes it the more subtle and successful.

Many of the Dakota have found a way to preserve the essence of their culture, though their institutional unity and societal solidarity have been torn apart by contact with Western culture. They have done this by preserving the time premise and perspective of the original culture. Avenues for this preservation have been found in adaptations of religious, social, and economic institutions, which in American society, are separated from each other. Nominal Christianity, the 'peyote cult,' and Yuwipi groups have all served to continue the death-denying time premise and its mythical time perspective from which the

Dakota constructs his values and his concepts. The formation of rural communities along the creek beds of the reservation, somewhat after the manner of the old tiyospaye, and the reliance, in one form or another, upon the provisions of the United States government, has contributed to the functioning, preservation, and perpetuation of the modern, though broken, Dakota culture structure.

When the Dakota loses the time premise and perspective of his culture without having the opportunity of socializing experience in Western society, there is no structuralizing principle or foundation for culturally defined values and concepts. When this happens the resulting condition is termed cultural anomie. Here the individual is a marginal man in that he is not governed by the norms of either culture. The result is behavior which is most often regarded as anti-social and criminal. However, this is not so much the behavior of persons that are at war with society, but rather, the behavior of detached persons without the value and conceptual norms of any society.

A number of Dakota have become well assimilated into Western society and hence have 'learned' the Western concept of time. This has involved, however, more than merely going to an American school or having a superior intellect. The factors, from the theoretical time-culture standpoint of this study, making assimilation possible are: (1) those factors contributing to the divorcement from or rejection of the old Dakota time premise and time perspective; (2) the conscious potentiality of a degree of acceptance into White-American, upper-lower class or middle-class society; (3) the opportunity of continued participation in upper-lower class or middle class American society.

There is need for field work to further test and verify the conclusions of this study. However, the framework herein outlined suggests many areas in which data may be collected. Data from rural reservation communities, small towns, and the Indian population of larger cities as well as data from individuals who are of the old culture, anomic, or assimilated may be analyzed according to the theoretical framework of this study. The theories which have been developed, as well as any field research which might be carried on from them, relate directly to the Indian problems of assimilation, motivation and delinquent or criminal behavior.

This study has answered the initial problem set for it by defining the Dakota concept of time and distinguishing it from that of Western civilization. It has also found that the Dakota concept of time is a part of a greater whole which constitutes the individual organization of personality; change poses a threat to that organization. Further, it has found that the Dakota concept of time is an integral part of the culture pattern and that it may be expected to continue as long as the culture or its broken parts continue. However, it is a concept that cannot fit into the culture of Western civilization and therefore, it becomes an index of resistance and survival of Dakota culture.

Western 'time and tide' have not waited for the Dakota. They have broken the old life-way of eternal time. They have brought personal and social disorganization to this native American people. They promise only to complete their conquest by demanding ultimate assimilation into the cultural order of Western civilization.

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APPENDIX I

THE DAKOTA ALPHABET

a (ah), sound of a in far.
b (be), same as English.
c (che), sound of ch in chin.
ç, an exploded c, not in English.
d (de), same as English.
e (e), sound of e in they.
g (ghe), sound of g in give.
ğ, a guttural, not in English.
h (he), same as English.
ȟ, sound of ch in German ach.
i (e), sound of i in machine.
k (ke), same as English.
ķ an exploded k, not in English.
l (le), same as English.
m (me), same as English.
n (ne), same as English.
ŋ (in), a nasal sound, nearly similar to n in ink. In Dakota it is only used at the end of a syllable.
o (oh), sound of o in go.
p (pe), same as English.
p, an exploded p, not in English.
s (see), same as English.
š (she), sound of sh in she.
t (te), same as English.
ṭ, an exploded t, not in English.
u (oo), sound of oo in ooze.
w (we), same as English.
y (ye), same as English.
z (ze), same as English.
ž, sound of z in azure.

Only letters of the English alphabet have been used in the Dakota words of this study.

APPENDIX II

INDIAN CRIME

The following Indian crime report was received from the Aberdeen Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of Interior. It was taken from the Annual Statistical Report and covers the period July 1, 1954 to June 30, 1955.

North and South Dakota - Federal Cases

8 - Assault with a dangerous weapon
11 - Burglary
2 - Dyer Act
8 - Larceny (Petit)
2 - Larceny (Grand)
6 - Manslaughter
1 - Murder
16 - Rape
2 - Sale of ID cattle

These Federal cases were investigated and filed by Criminal Investigators of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

North and South Dakota - State Cases

1 - Abortion
17 - Assault and Battery
2 - Attempt to Kill
4 - Breaking and Entering
1 - Bogus Check
11 - Burglary
1 - Concealed Weapon
11 - Contributing to delinquency of Minor
1 - Desertion
14 - Disorderly Conduct
16 - Driving, Drunk
5 - Driving, Reckless
2 - Escape
1 - Fishing, Illegal
4 - Forgery
424 - Intoxication, Public
7 - Larceny (Grand)
5 - Larceny (Petit)
1 - Speeding
26 - Vagrancy

One hundred thirty-eight of these cases were filed by our Indian Police stationed at Wagner, South Dakota and 416 were filed by our Criminal Investigator stationed at Sisseton, South Dakota. A Tribal or Court of Indian Offenses is not maintained at either of these reservations.

North and South Dakota - Tribal Courts & Courts of Indian Offenses

1 - Abduction
90 - Assault
31 - Assault and Battery
8 - Burglary
5 - Conspiracy
56 - Contempt of Court
4 - Contributing to Delinquency of Minor
1 - Cruelty to Animals
22 - Disobedience of Court Orders
962 - Disorderly Conduct & Drunkenness
18 - Driving, Drunk
19 - Driving, Reckless
2 - Embezzlement
32 - Escape
75 - Failure to Send Children to School
114 - Family Offenses
2 - Fraud
6 - Illicit Cohabitation
2 - Injury to Public Property
76 - Juvenile Delinquency
38 - Larceny
41 - Liquor Violations
18 - Maintaining Public Nuisance
12 - Malicious Mischief
28 - Nonsupport of Dependents